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ANTI-SLAVERY

MANUAL,

CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF

FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

ON

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

BY REV. LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

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P R E F A C E .

THE design of this little volume is to give a succinct view of the question of American Slavery, with which it concerns every man, woman, and child, in this Christian Republic, to be familiarly acquainted. It contains a mass of facts, together with numerous extracts from the slave laws, from pro-slavery writers, from the Constitution of the United States, and from the Bills of Rights of the different States, which are to be found in no other book of the kind.

American Slavery—its victims—the number enslaved—the number of slaveholders—the Moral and Civil condition of the slaves—Jewish servitude—arguments for and against slavery—pro-slavery views and writings—sufferings of the slave—the sin of slaveholding—the danger of continued slavery—the safety of immediate abolition—the guilt of the nation—right of free discussion—the American slave trade—contentment of the slaves—the power of Congress over slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories—the testimonies of distinguished men against slavery—principles and measures of the abolitionists—objections, &c., &c., &c., are among the subjects illustrated in this work.

“Facts are stubborn things.” Those here offered to the notice of the reader, will speak for themselves. If the arguments in the following pages are deemed inconclusive, it remains for our opponents to confute them.

ANTI-SLAVERY MANUAL

CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

By American Slavery is meant the condition of those Americans who are claimed, held and treated, in these United States, as property.

A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master."—*Louisiana Code.*

The same code, speaking of the legal nature of slave property, says :—

Slaves though moveable by their nature, are considered immoveable by the operation of law.

"Goods they are," says the civil code, "and goods they shall be esteemed."—*Taylor's Elements*, p. 429.

Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, and reputed to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.—*Laws of South Carolina, Stroud*, p. 22—3.

This dominion of the master is as unlimited as that which is tolerated by the laws of any civilized community

in relation to brute animals—to “quadrupeds,” to use the words of the civil law.—*Stroud*, p. 24.

In case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles, such as *slaves, working beasts, animals of any kind, stock, furniture, plate, books*, and so forth, the Court, if it shall deem it advantageous for the ward, may, at any time, pass an order for the sale thereof.—*Laws of Maryland*, 1798.

Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate*; shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate*.—*Laws of Louisiana*, 1836.

Hence it appears, that the distinguishing principle of *American Slavery* is this: *slaves are not to ranked among rational beings, but they are to be CLAIMED, HELD, and TREATED as things, as articles of property, “to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever.”*

Consequently it does not allow to the slave the rights of his own reason and conscience.

It annihilates the family state: prevents parents from obeying the command of God with regard to their children; it prohibits, or nullifies, the marriage rites, and prevents husbands and wives from obeying the commands of God with regard to each other.

It enjoins, or sanctions, promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, without the rites of marriage.

It holds all the religious privileges of the slave at the mere mercy of his master, whether that master be infidel, papist, or protestant.

It prevents the slave from obeying that command of God, which makes it the duty of all men to “search the Scriptures.”

Its direct tendency is to crush the minds of God’s

intelligent creatures, by forbidding and preventing all schools for "mental instruction."

It withholds the hire of the laborer.

It sanctions and covers the breach of the 8th commandment. It justifies the very same thing which our laws and the laws of nations punish as piracy, if committed on the coast of Africa, or on the high seas. It originates and justifies what the Bible calls "manstealing."

It denies to the slave that protection for his character, his health and life, which is enjoyed by the white man.

Here it must be observed, that what we have stated above, forms no part of what is generally called the "evils of slavery," or, in other words, the "abuses of the system;" but the above facts make up the very system itself, the very thing which we say is a sin against God.

CHAPTER II.

WHO MAY BE HELD AS SLAVES.

A law of South Carolina reads as follows :—

All negroes, *Indians*, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, who are now free, excepted,) mulattoes, or mestizos, who are now or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring born, *or to be born*, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be and remain forever hereafter, *absolute slaves*, and shall follow the *condition of the mother*. *Act of 1740, 2 Brevard's Digest, 229.*

Similar laws are now in force in Georgia, Missis-

issippi, Virginia, and Louisiana. In Virginia the enslavement of Indians was authorized by statute from 1679 to 1691. Those whose maternal ancestors have been reduced to slavery since the latter period, have been decided by the highest courts in that state to be free. So late as 1797, it was decided by the Supreme Court of *New Jersey*, Chief Justice Kinsey, that Indians might be held as slaves.

They (Indians) have been so long recognized as slaves, in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would in the case of the Africans; *and as useless to investigate the manner in which they* ORIGINALLY lost their freedom. *The State vs. Waggoner* 1 *Halstead's Reports*, 374 to 376.

Persons emancipated, but not in the prescribed form of law, are liable to be re-enslaved, thus in South Carolina.

In case any slave shall be emancipated or set free, otherwise than according to the act (of 1800) regulating emancipation, it shall be lawful *for any person whatsoever to seize and convert to his or her own use and to keep as his or her property* the said slave so illegally emancipated or set free. 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 256.

And in Virginia, "If any emancipated slave (infants excepted) shall remain within the state more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall *forfeit* all such right, and may *be apprehended and sold* by the overseers of the poor, &c., for the benefit of THE LITERARY FUND!! 1 *Rev. Code*, 436.

Hence it will be perceived, that slavery has no limits. It lays its bloody hands not only on native Americans of African descent, and their children, *forever*, but on Indians. "Nor is it confined to color," says Mr. Paxon of Virginia. "The best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of the slaves."

Many who are now held in slavery, in this nation, are as white as the masters by whom they are oppressed.

CHAPTER III.

NUMBER OF AMERICANS ENSLAVED.

The increase of the slave population in these United States, for the fifty years ending 1830, has been as follows :

<i>Census of</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Total Population.</i>
1790	697,797,	3,929,827.
1800	896,849,	5,305,925.
1810	1,191,364,	7,289,314.
1820	1,538,064,	9,638,181.
1830	2,010,436,	12,856,407.

Hence, it appears, that, according to the ratio of increase between 1820 and 1830, there must have been in 1835, not less than 2,245,144 slaves in these United States.

The following table will show the increase of the Whites and Blacks, on this ratio, in Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas and Florida.

	<i>Whites.</i>	<i>Blacks.</i>
1820	2,831,789,	1,653,727.
1830	3,660,548,	2,187,545.
1840	4,731,870,	2,893,700.
1850	6,116,720,	3,827,800.

1860	7,906,880,	5,063,400.
1870	10,220,900,	6,697,850.
1880	13,213,000,	8,859,950.
1890	17,079,000,	11,720,000.
1900	22,077,500,	15,503,000.

The ratio of increase of the Whites is $29\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. ; and of the Blacks $32\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. That the blacks should increase faster than the whites, is easily accounted for, from the fact, that the former class are increased by the latter, but the blacks cannot increase the whites.

If we set down the number of slaves now in the United States, at, say, 2,500,000 ; and add to these, in Brazil, 2,000,000 ; in the Spanish possessions, 300,000 ; in the French, 300,000 ; in the possessions of Portugal, Denmark, Holland, &c., 200,000. We have before us the appalling number of more than FIVE MILLIONS of human beings prostrate beneath the hoof of a relentless tyranny, for no other crime than the color of their skins !

CHAPTER IV.

NUMBER OF SLAVEHOLDERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

There are, at this time, about 2,500,000 slaves in the United States. An average of ten slaves to each slaveholder—which is probably not far from the truth—will show the whole number of slaveholders to be 250,000. They may be divided thus :—

150,000	hold	on an average	3	slaves,	450,000.
70,000		"	"	5	" 350,000.
20,000		"	"	25	" 500,000.
8,000		"	"	100	" 800,000.
1,000		"	"	200	" 300,000.
500		"	"	300	" 150,000.

Here, then, are 250,000 slaveholders, including men, women, and minors of both sexes, who, having brought under personal servitude *two millions and a half* of their fellow creatures, aspire to bring into *political* servitude the whole of the United States with a free population of *thirteen or fourteen millions*. To this free population they are about as 1 to 50 or 60. A daring attempt,—but from present appearances, it promises to be too successful.—*Human Rights*.

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL CONDITION OF THE ENSLAVED.

Color a Legal Evidence of Slavery.

A white man may enslave any colored one, and, as between himself and the slave, the law does not require him to establish his claim; the slave is compelled to remain so, if he cannot *prove his freedom*. The South Carolina Act of 1740, permits persons held as slaves and claiming to be free, to petition the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who if they see cause may allow a *guardian* to bring an

action for freedom against the master. The sequel of this law shows how poor is the encouragement for both the suitor and his guardian.

And if judgment shall be given for the plaintiff, a special entry shall be made, declaring that the ward of the plaintiff is free, and the jury shall assess damages which the plaintiff's ward hath sustained, and the court shall give judgment and award execution against the defendant for such damages, with full cost of suit; *but in case judgment shall be given for the defendant, the said court is hereby fully empowered to inflict SUCH CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, NOT EXTENDING TO LIFE OR LIMB, on the ward of the plaintiff, as they in their discretion shall think fit.* Provided, that in any action or suit to be brought in pursuance of the direction of this act, *THE BURDEN OF THE PROOF shall lay upon the plaintiff, and it shall be always presumed that every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary be made to appear,* (the Indians in amity with this government excepted, in which case the burden of the proof shall be on the defendant.)—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229, 30.

Virginia shows her hostility to the claim for freedom by the following provision of her Revised Code :

For *aiding and abetting* a slave in a trial for freedom, if the claimant shall fail in his suit, a fine of one hundred dollars is imposed.—1 *Rev. Code*, 482.

The only known exception to this principle of throwing the *burden of proof* upon the person claimed as a slave, is in North Carolina, where persons of mixed blood, by a decision of the court, are presumed to be free.

By this cruel presumption, free persons are constantly taken up on suspicion of being runaways, and after being in prison for some months, are sold to pay their JAIL FEES.

Mental Instruction Prohibited.

South Carolina may lay claim to the earliest movement in legislation on this subject. In 1740, while yet a province, she enacted this law :

Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, Be it enacted, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money.—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243.

Similar in Georgia, *by act of 1770*, except as to the penalty, which is twenty pounds sterling.—*Prince's Digest*, 455.

In the same state the following additional restraints were enacted in 1800 :

That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizos, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and of a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of *mental instruction* in a confined or secret place, &c. &c., is (are) declared to be an unlawful meeting, and magistrates, &c. &c., are hereby required, &c. to enter into such confined places, &c. &c., to break doors, &c. if resisted, and to disperse such slaves, free negroes, &c. &c., and the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblies, *may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, &c. as they may judge necessary, for* DETERRING THEM FROM THE LIKE UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLAGE IN FUTURE.—*Brevard's Digest*, 254.

And another section of the same act declares

That it shall not be lawful for any number of free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos, even of slaves in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of *mental*

instruction, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same.—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

Virginia passed the following in 1819 :

That all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves at any meeting-house, or houses, or any other place, &c. in the night, *or at any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing either in the day or night*, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an *unlawful assembly*; and any justice of a county, &c. wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c., may issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c. may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and *to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders*, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, *not exceeding twenty lashes*.—1 *Rev. Code*, 424-5.

Similar laws exist in most of the slave states, and in all, *mental instruction* is practically discouraged.

Prohibition of Religious Worship.

Many extracts from the laws of the Southern States might be given under this head. The following is but a specimen; it is from the South Carolina Act of 1800 :

It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizos, *even in company* with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or *religious worship*, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c. &c. are hereby vested with power, &c. for dispersing such assemblies, &c.—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

Prohibition of Self-defence.

If any slave shall *presume* to strike *any white* person, such slave, upon trial and conviction before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, shall for the *first* offence, suffer such as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the *second* offence, suffer DEATH.—*Ib.*

The law is similar in South Carolina; in both states the slave is not punished, however, when he strikes, “by the command, and in the defence of the person or property of the owner, &c.”

Unqualified submission to the will of the Whites required of the Slaves.

The code of Louisiana gravely lays down the following principle :

Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but on the contrary, they ought to *yield to them on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them, but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence.—1 *Martin's Digest*, 640-42.

The following are specimens of the laws by which the whole white community have made themselves tyrants over the slaves :

If any slave shall *happen* to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or *other person*, who shall apprehend or endeavor to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or *other person so killing such slave as aforesaid*, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c. *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap, xiv. § 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared :

If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white person*, it shall be lawful for such white person, to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed*!!—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

Power of the Slaveholder.

Whereas, by another act of the assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel and deliberate, is only punishable in the first instance by imprisonment and paying the value thereof to the owner, which *distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one who is equally a human creature, but merely of a different complexion, is DISGRACEFUL TO HUMANITY, AND DEGRADING IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO THE LAWS AND PRINCIPLES OF A FREE, CHRISTIAN AND ENLIGHTENED COUNTRY*, Be it enacted, &c. That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, OR TO ANY SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION.*—*Haywood's Manuel*, 530; and see *Laws of Tennessee, act of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso.*

Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION.—*Constitution of Georgia, Art. 4, § 12. Prince's Digest*, 559.

Judge Stroud remarks:—

That a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is au-

thorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and to sustain life, kills *a hog*, or some animal of the cattle kind!!—See *Haywood's Manual*, 521; *act of 1741, ch. 24, § 45.*

In South Carolina, by the Act of 1740 the “wilful murder” of a slave was punished by a fine of “seven hundred pounds, current money,” and inability to hold office, but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows :—

If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds*, current money.—*Brevand's Digest*, 241.

By an act of 1821, the former provision was abolished but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months.—*James' Digest*, 392.

It is the imperative duty of the judges to recognize the full *dominion of the owner over the slave*, except where the exercise of it is forbidden by statute.—*Judge Ruffin, N. Carolina.*

In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict *any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horse-whip*, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by *putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money.—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for *taking off irons* than she does for the “*cruel punishments*,” specified above, as appears from this :

If any person or persons, &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used

in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c. be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months.—*Act of Assembly of March 6, 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

Now, in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force, and the penalty is a fine of *not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred!*

In Missouri, the master is assisted in punishing as follows:

If any slave resist his or her master, mistress, overseer, or employer, or *refuse* to obey his or her lawful commands, it shall be lawful for such master, &c. to commit such slave to the common gaol of the county, there to remain *at the pleasure* of the master, &c; and the sheriff shall receive such slave, and keep him, &c. in confinement, at the expense of the person committing him or her.—1 *Missouri Laws*, 309.

Delegated power of the Master.

According to the universal practice of the slave states, the master may delegate his tremendous power to any other person whom he pleases. Louisiana has the following express law:

The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them.—1 *Martin's Digest*, 616.

Right of Marriage.

The following is, unquestionably, law and fact throughout the slave states :

A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery ; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder.—*Opinion of Daniel Delany, Esq. Attorney General of Maryland, 1 Maryland Reports, 561, 563.*

Right of Property.

It shall not be lawful for any slave to buy, sell, trade, &c. for any goods, &c. without a license from the owner, &c. nor shall any slave be permitted to keep any boat, periauger or canoe, or raise and breed, for the benefit of such slave, any horses, mares, cattle, sheep or hogs, under pain of forfeiting all the goods, &c. and all the boats, periaugers, or canoes, horses, mares, cattle, sheep, or hogs. And it shall be lawful for any person whatsoever, to seize and take away from any slave, all such goods, &c. boats, &c. &c. and to deliver the same into the hands of any justice of the peace, nearest to the place where the seizure shall be made, and such justice shall take the oath of the person making such seizure, concerning the manner thereof ; and if the said justice shall be satisfied that such seizure has been made according to law, he shall pronounce and declare the goods so seized, to be forfeited, and order the same to be sold at public outcry, one half of the moneys arising from such sale to go to the state, and the other half to him or them that sue for the same.—*James' Digest, 385-6. Act of 1740. S. Car*

In Georgia, to prevent the master from permitting the slave to hire himself for his own benefit, there is a penalty of thirty dollars “for every weekly offence, on the part of the master, unless the labor be done on his own premises.”—*Prince's*

Digest, 457. In Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Missouri, there are similar laws.

As early as the year 1799, North Carolina interposed as follows :

All horses, cattle, hogs or sheep, that one month after the passing of this act, shall belong to any slave or be of any slave's mark, in this state, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens, and by them applied, the one half to the support of the poor of the county, and the other half to the informer.—Haywood's Manual, 526.

In Mississippi, the master incurs a fine of fifty dollars by permitting the slave to cultivate cotton for his own use.—*Rev. Code*, 379 ; also fifty dollars for permitting the slave to go at large and trade as a freeman.—*Rev. Code*, 374.

The civil code of Louisiana lays down the following principles :

All that a slave possesses belongs to his master—he possesses nothing of his own, except his peculium, that is to say, the sum of money or moveable estate, which his master chooses he should possess.—Art. 175, and see 1 Martin's Digest, 616.

Slaves are incapable of inheriting or transmitting property.—*Civil Code*, Art. 945.

Colored Persons cannot be Witnesses against a White Criminal.

In Virginia, and some others of the slave states, and in one of the *free*, there is the following law :

Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of the commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, *and in no other cases whatever.*—1 R. V. C. 422. Similar in Missouri, 2

Missouri Laws, 600. In Mississippi, *Mississippi Rev. Code*, 372. In Kentucky, 2 *Litt. & Swi.* 1150. In Alabama, *Toulmin's Digest*, 627. In Maryland, *Maryland Laws, act of 1717, ch. 13, § 2, & 3, and an act of 1751, ch. 14, § 4.* In North Carolina and Tennessee, *act of 1777, ch. 2, § 42.* And in OHIO, *act of Assembly, of January 25, 1807.*

Restraints upon Emancipation.

In South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emancipation can take place only by special act of the legislature. In North Carolina no negro or mulatto slave can be set free "except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court." In Tennessee the court is authorized to emancipate upon petition, if the measures set forth in the petition, are in the opinion of the court, "consistent with the interest and policy of the state." In Mississippi the legislature only can emancipate, by special act, and that only upon proof of meritorious services, &c. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland, emancipation may be effected by deeds registered in court, saving the "rights of creditors," and giving bonds for maintenance if required by the court. In Virginia, however, if the emancipated be over twenty-one, he must leave the state before the expiration of twelve months, or be reduced into slavery. In Louisiana emancipation is regulated as follows :

The master who wishes to emancipate his slave, is bound to make a declaration of his intention to the judge of the parish where he resides ; the judge must order notice of it to be published during forty days by advertisement posted at the door of the court house, and if at the expiration of this delay, no opposition be made, he shall authorize the master to pass the act of emancipation.—*Art. 187.* The general powers then conferred, are subject nevertheless, to

these limitations : “ No one can emancipate his slave unless the slave has attained the age of *thirty years*, and has behaved well at least for four years previous to his emancipation.—Art. 185, except “ *a slave who has saved the life of his master, his master’s wife, or one of his children,*” for such a one “ *may be emancipated at any age.*”—Art. 186.

Slaves emancipated otherwise than by these formalities are liable to be reduced to slavery, and in probably all the states except North Carolina they are liable to be sold for the debts of their emancipators contracted before their emancipation. The State of Georgia has the following barbarous enactment :

If any person or persons shall, after the passing of this act (1801,) set free any slave or slaves, in any other manner and form than the one prescribed herein, (i. e. by special legislative act,) he shall forfeit for every such *offence two hundred dollars*, to be recovered by action of debt, or *indictment*, the one half to be applied to the use of the county in which the *offence* may have been committed, the other half to the use of the informer, and the said slave or slaves so manumitted and set free, *shall be still to all intents and purposes as much in a state of slavery as before they were manumitted and set free* by the party or parties so offending.—*Prince’s Digest*, 457.

In 1818 this unrighteous edict was fortified by the following :

All and every will and testament, deed, whether by way of trust or otherwise, contract, agreement or stipulation, or other instrument in writing, or by parole, made and executed for the purpose of effecting or endeavoring to effect the manumission of any slave or slaves, either directly by conferring or attempting to confer freedom on such slave or slaves, or indirectly or virtually, by allowing and securing or attempting to allow and secure to such slave or slaves the right or privilege of working for his, her or themselves, free from the control of the master or owner of such slave

or slaves, or of enjoying the profits of his, her or their labor or skill, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be utterly null and void; and the person or persons so making, &c. any such deed, &c. &c., and all and every person or persons concerned in giving or attempting to give effect thereto, whether by accepting the trust created or attempted to be created, or in any way or manner whatsoever, shall be severally liable to a penalty not exceeding *one thousand dollars*, to be recovered, &c. &c., and each and every slave or slaves in whose behalf such will or testament, &c. &c., shall have been made, shall be liable to be arrested by warrant under the hand and seal of any magistrate of this state, and being thereof *convicted*, &c. and shall be liable to be sold as a slave or slaves, by public outcry, and the proceeds of such sales shall be appropriated, &c. &c.—*Prince's Digest*, 466.

From the foregoing and similar laws it appears :

1. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labor, to which the slave shall be subjected :

2. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper, or find convenient.

3. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

4. Slaves have no legal right to any property in things real or personal; but whatever they may acquire, belongs in point of law to their masters.

5. The slave, being a personal chattel, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased, at the will of his master.

6. He may also be sold by process of law, for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

7. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial

tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety.

9. Slaves can make no contracts.

10. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

11. A slave cannot be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.

12. He cannot be a party in a civil suit.

13. The benefits of education are withheld from the slaves.

14. The means of moral and religious instruction are not granted to the slave ; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply these wants, are discountenanced by law.

15. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.

16. The penal codes of the slaveholding states bear much more severely upon slaves than upon white persons.

17. Slaves are prosecuted and tried upon criminal accusations, in a manner inconsistent with the rights of humanity.—*Stroud's Slave Laws.*

CHAPTER V.

MORAL CONDITION OF THE ENSLAVED.

Testimony of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

The following "*facts*" are stated in a "Report of the *Synod of South Carolina and Georgia*, to whom was referred the subject of the *Religious Instruction* of the colored population, at its late session, in Columbia, S. C. Published by order of the Synod," in the Charleston Observer in March 22, 1834.

Before we attempt to set forth the duty [to evangelize these heathen] it will be proper to show, *that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things.*

From long continued and close observation, say the Synod by their committees, we believe that their (colored population's) moral and religious condition is such, as that they may justly be considered the *heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world.*

In the vast field extending from an entire state beyond the Potomac to the Sabine river; and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not *twelve* men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes! * * The number [two millions of souls, and more] divided between them, would give to each a charge of near 170,000!!

We can furnish no accurate estimate of the proportion of negroes that attend divine worship on the Sabbath, taking the slave-holding states together. From an extensive observation, however, we venture to say, that not a *twentieth part attend!* *Thousands and thousands hear not the sound of the gospel, or ever enter a church from one year to another.*

We may now inquire if they enjoy the privileges of the gospel, in private, in their own houses, and on their own plantations? Again we return a negative answer. They

have no Bibles to read at their own fire-sides—no family altars—and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no ministers to address to them the consolations of the gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services. Sometimes a kind master will perform these offices. If the master is pious, the house servants *alone* attend family worship, and *frequently few or none of these*.

Here and there a master feels interested for the salvation of his servants, and is attempting something towards it, &c. We rejoice that there are such, and that the number is increasing. In general, we may however remark, *that it does not enter into the arrangement of plantations, to make provision for their religious instruction ; and so far as masters are engaged in this work, an almost unbroken silence reigns over the vast field.*

We feel warranted, therefore, in the conclusion, that the negroes are *destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and must continue to be so*, if nothing more is done for them.

Testimony of the Rev. C. C. Jones.

The Rev. C. C. Jones, in a sermon preached before two associations of Planters in Georgia, in 1831, says :

Generally speaking, they (the slaves) appear to us to be without God and without hope in the world, a NATION OF HEATHENS in our very midst. We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the Scriptures from the common people, and keeping them in ignorance of the way of life, for we WITHHOLD the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of it, while we will not use the means to have it read and explained to them. The cry of our perishing servants comes up to us from the sultry plains as they bend at their toil—it comes up from their humble cottages when they return at evening to rest their weary limbs—it comes up to us from the midst of their ignorance, and superstition, and adultery and lewdness.

Testimony of the Charleston Observer.

A writer in a late number of this paper, says :

Let us establish missionaries among our negroes, who, in view of religious knowledge, are as debasingly ignorant as any one on the coast of Africa; for I hazard the assertion, that throughout the bounds of our synod, there are at least *one hundred thousand slaves*, speaking the same language as ourselves, who never HEARD of the plan of salvation by a Redeemer.

Testimony of the Western Luminary.

A writer in the Western Luminary, a respectable religious paper in Lexington, Kentucky, says :

I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that *heathenism is as real in the slave States* as it is in the South Sea Islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it constitutes heathenism? Is it to be destitute of a knowledge of God—of his holy word—never to have heard scarcely a sentence of it read through life—to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction and mission of Jesus Christ—to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling, or sentiments, of probity, truth, and chastity? If this constitutes heathenism, then are there thousands, millions of heathens, in our beloved land. There is one topic to which I will allude, which will serve to establish the heathenism of this population. I allude to the *universal licentiousness* which prevails. It may be said emphatically that chastity is no virtue among them—that its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, or that of their master or mistress. No instruction is ever given—no censure pronounced. I speak *not of the world*; I SPEAK OF CHRISTIAN FAMILIES GENERALLY.

Testimony of J. A. Thome, of Kentucky.

Licentiousness. I shall not speak of the far South, whose sons are fast melting away under the *unblushing profligacy* which prevails. I allude to the slave-holding West. It is well known that the slave lodgings (I refer

now to village slaves) are exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the *sleeping apartments of both sexes are common.*

It is also a fact, that there is no allowed intercourse between the families and the servants after the work of the day is over. The family, assembled for the evening, enjoy a conversation elevating and instructive. But the poor slaves are thrust out; no ties of sacred home thrown around them; no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day; no intercourse as of man with man; and should one of the younger members of the family, led by curiosity, steal out into the filthy kitchen, the child is speedily called back, thinking itself happy if it escape an angry rebuke. Why is this? The dread of moral contamination. Most excellent reason; but it reveals a horrid picture. *The slaves, cut off from all community of feeling with their masters, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with the vulgar jestings, and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighboring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent—then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery. Where do these scenes occur! In the kitchens of church members and elders.*

Testimony of the Rev. J. D. Paxton.

Some slaves have, indeed, a marriage ceremony performed. It is, however, usually done by one of their own color, and of course, is not a legal transaction. And if done by a person legally authorized to perform marriages, still it would have no authority, because the law does not recognize marriage among the slaves, so as to clothe it with the rights and immunities which it wears among citizens. The owner of either party might, the next day or hour, break up the connection in any way he pleased. In fact, these connections have no protection, and are so often broken up by sales and transfers and removals, that they are by the slaves often called “taking up together.” The sense of marriage fidelity must be greatly weakened, if not wholly destroyed, by such a state of things. The effect is most disastrous.

But there is another circumstance which deserves our notice. What effect is likely to be produced on the morals of the whites, from having about them, and under their absolute authority, female slaves who are deprived of the strongest motives to purity, and exposed to peculiar temptations to opposite conduct! The condition of female slaves is such, that promises and threatenings and management can hardly fail to conquer them. They are entirely dependent on their master. They have no way to make a shilling to procure any article they need. Like all poor people they are fond of finery, and wish to imitate those who are above them. What, now, are presents and kind treatment, or the reverse, if they are not complying, likely to effect on such persons! And the fact that their children, should they have any through such intercourse, may expect better treatment from so near relations, may have its influence. That the vice prevails to a most shameful extent, is proved from the rapid increase of mulattoes. Oh, how many have fallen before this temptation; so many, that it has almost ceased to be a shame to fall! Oh how many parents may trace the impiety and licentiousness and shame of their prodigal sons, to the temptations found in the female slaves of their own or neighbors' household! Irregular habits are thus formed, which often last through life. And many a lovely and excellent woman, confiding in vows of affection and fidelity, trusting to her power over her devoted lover, has, after uniting her fate with his, and giving him all that woman has to give, found, when too late, how incorrigible are those habits of roving desire, formed in youth, and kept alive by the temptations and facilities of the slave system.

Testimony of the Rev. John Rankin.

The *Rev. John Rankin* has the following among other statements, on this delicate subject :—

Again, slaves, in consequence of the manner in which they are raised, are generally prone to vicious indulgence, and many of them are exceedingly profligate: their master's children often mingle with them, and not only

witness their vicious practices, but also listen to their lascivious conversation, and thus from infancy they become familiar with almost every thing wicked and obscene. And this, in connection with easy access, becomes a strong temptation to lewdness. Hence it often happens that the master's children practice the same vices which prevail among his slaves; and even the master himself is liable to be overwhelmed by the floods of temptation. And in some instances the father and his sons are involved in one common ruin; nor do the daughters always escape this impetuous fountain of pollution. Were it necessary, I could refer you to several instances of slaves actually seducing the daughters of their masters! Such seductions sometimes happen even in the most respectable slaveholding families!

Testimony of S. A. Forral, Esq.

Negresses, when young and likely, are often employed as wet nurses by the white people; as also by either the planter or his friends, to administer to their sensual desires. This frequently is a matter of speculation; for if the offspring, a mulatto, be a handsome female, 800 or 1000 dollars may be obtained for her in the New Orleans market. It is an occurrence of no uncommon nature, to see a Christian father sell his own daughter, and the brother his own sister, by the same father.

Testimony of Chancellor Harper, of S. C.

It is true that the morals of this class *are very loose*, (by no means so universally so as is often supposed,) and that *the passions of men of the superior caste, tempt and find gratification in the easy chastity of the females*. This is an evil and to be remedied, *if we can do so without the introduction of greater evil*.

CHAPTER VI.

BEARING OF SLAVERY UPON THE MORAL CHARACTER OF SLAVEHOLDERS.

Testimony of Thomas Jefferson.

The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his *worst of passions*; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in *tyranny*, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.

Testimony of Judge Tucker.

Judge Tucker, of Virginia, in a published letter to a member of the General Assembly of that commonwealth, in 1801, bears the following testimony to the demoralizing tendency of slavery.

I say nothing of the baneful effect of domestic slavery on our moral character, and of its inconsistency with the truest principles of republicanism: I forbear to enlarge on all these topics, equally copious and important, because they have been repeatedly discussed by abler pens than mine, and because *I know you have been long sensible of their force.*—Page 21.

If a female negro is childless, it is the fault of nature alone.—*Ibid*: page 12.

Testimony of Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Johnson, in the Convention for revising the Constitution of Virginia, in 1829, said:

Slavery has been the foundation of that impiety and dissipation, which has been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good.—*Debates in Virginia Convention, page 463.*

Testimony of Mr. Moore.

Mr. Moore, in the Legislature of Virginia in 1832, said :

Permit me now, sir, to direct your attention to some of the evil consequences of slavery, by way of argument, in favor of your maturely deliberating on the whole subject, and adopting some efficient measures to remove the cause from which those evils spring. In the first place, I shall confine my remarks to such of those evils as affect the white population exclusively. And even in that point of view, I think that slavery as it exists among us, may be regarded as the heaviest calamity which has ever befallen any portion of the human race. If we look back through the long course of time which has elapsed since the creation to the present moment, we shall scarcely be able to point out a people whose situation was not in many respects preferable to our own, and that of the other states in which negro-slavery exists.—*Richmond Whig*.

Testimony of Mr. Summers.

Said Mr. Summers, in the same great debate :

A slave population, exercising the most pernicious influence upon the manners, habits and character of those among whom it exists. Lispering infancy learns the vocabulary of abusive epithets, and struts the embryo tyrant of its little domain. The consciousness of superior destiny takes possession of his mind at its earliest dawning, and love of power and rule “grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength.” When in the sublime lessons of Christianity he is taught “to do unto others as he would have others do unto him;” he never dreams that the degraded negro is within the pale of that holy canon. Unless enabled to rise above the operation of powerful causes, he enters the world with miserable notions of self-importance, and under the government of an unbridled temper.—*Ibid*.

CHAPTER VIII.

BIBLE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF AMERICAN
SLAVERY, ANSWERED.**Example of the Jews.**

1. The examples of the Jews, it is said, may be quoted in favor of American slavery.

But if so, why not quote the same authority to justify extirminating wars, and polygamy? Why not quote the Jewish example to compel every man to marry his brother's widow, in case his brother dies without children? Why not quote the same authority to prove that every man has a right to kill the murderer of his nearest relative, without any judicial process? Why not quote Jewish examples for putting a disobedient child to death?

Servants held as property.

2. Servants among the Jews, it is supposed, are spoken of as *property*, Ex. xxi. 21. For he is his money. The meaning is, the servant's labor was to the master for the time being the same as money. Servants among the Hebrews were not claimed, held and treated as property, as we shall elsewhere show.

Christ did not condemn Slavery.

3. Again we are told, that Jesus Christ did not condemn slavery by name. We answer, neither did he condemn offensive wars, gambling, lotteries, rum-making, and theatres by name.

Servants mentioned in the New Testament not Slaves.

4. It is supposed by some that the words rendered *servant* in the New Testament, signify, invariably, such as were claimed, held and treated as absolute property.

But this is by no means the fact! The word generally rendered servant, in the New Testament, is δουλός. According to Parkhurst, it comes from the Hebrew *dol*, which signifies *weak, powerless, poor, exhausted*. Hence, the first signification given to δουλός by the best Greek Lexicographers, is, *one in a servile state, a servant*. This is the first definition affixed to this word by Parkhurst, Ewing, Grove, and Greenfield, Editor of Bagster's Comprehensive Bible. Donegan says it means *a slave, a servant*.

This word occurs in the New Testament, one hundred and twenty-one times. It is applied to Christ, to Moses, and the Prophets, Phil. ii. 7. Rev. x. 7.—xv. 3. In twelve instances it is applied to the Apostles; fourteen times it is applied to Christians; and six times to sinners. And in about seventy places it is used to designate one in a state of *secular servitude, a servant*.

That this word was not generally used by the Apostles to designate one who was claimed, held and treated as property, is farther evident from the following considerations. (1.) In the Greek language this word corresponds with our word *servant*; it does not necessarily signify one who was held and treated as property; but it was used to designate one in a *servile state*, most generally a *slave*.

(2.) In Athens, however, this word was not used

to signify a *slave*, properly so called. See Robinson's *Antiq. of Greece*, p. 30, or Potter's *Gr. An.* vol. 1. page 68.

From these authorities we learn, that among the Athenians, slaves, or those who were the *entire property* of another, were called *οικεταί*, but *after their freedom was granted them*, they were named *δουλοι*, not being then, like the former, a part of the master's estate, though they were held in a kind of servitude, being required to render some rude service, such as was required of the *μετοικαι* [resident strangers] to whom, in some respects, they were inferior.

Now, when we consider that the Attic Greek is *substantially* the language in which the New Testament was written, it seems quite probable, that its writers did not, in using this word, depart from the sense above given.

(3.) This word was used sometimes by St. Paul, to designate a kind of servitude which he himself condemned, 1 Cor. vii. 21, 23 ; Philemon, 16.

(4.) The other word, rendered servant in the New Testament, is *οικετης*, from *οικος*, a house ; a *domestic*, a *servant*, a *house servant* or *slave*. This word occurs but four times in the New Testament. Acts, x. 7 ; Rom. xiv. 4 ; 1 Pet. ii. 18 ; and Luke xvi. 13.

In the last passage here given, the reader will see at once, that it could not have been used to signify one who was the *entire property* of another.

But, admitting that this word is used in *one* place (1 Pet. ii. 18) to signify those servants who were held as slaves, it by no means follows from this fact, that the Apostle meant by using it, to justify the *claim* of the slaveholder in that case. He

directs those servants or slaves how to suffer the *injuries* which might be inflicted upon them, but he does not direct the slaveholder *how* to inflict them. When he addresses masters, he commands them to render unto their servants that which is JUST and EQUAL, and which command is a direct *condemnation* of slavery.

Were the masters mentioned in the New Testament Slaveholders ?

5. But we are told again, that the words used by the Apostle, in speaking of masters, necessarily imply such as held *slaves*.

1. The word *κύριος*, *lord* or *master*, is used in the Bible as a title of authority or respect, but never to signify the owner of human beings. Gen. xviii. 12 ; 1 Cor. viii. 5 ; Acts xvi. 30.

2. The classical meaning of *δεσποτης*, is a *despot*, a *sovereign*, a *master of slaves*. But in the New Testament it does not invariably bear this signification.

It occurs in ten different passages ; in six of them it is applied to Jesus Christ, or God. Luke ii. 29 : Acts iv. 24 ; 2 Tim. ii. 21 ; (compare verse 19, and Heb. iii. 6 ;) 2 Pet. ii. 1 ; Jude 4 ; Rev. vi. 10.

In four places it is used to signify earthly rulers or masters. 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2 ; Titus ii. 9 ; 1 Pet. ii. 18.

This word is sometimes used to signify the head or ruler of a family, as the reader will see by turning to the following places:—Mat. x. 25, and xxiv. 43 ; Mark xiv. 14 ; Luke xii. 39 ; xiii. 25 ; xxii. 11.

Servants under the Yoke.

But in 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, it has been supposed to sig-

nify such as held servants as their absolute property.

“Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.

“And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit.”

That there are two kinds of servants spoken of in the verses above quoted, we think is evident from a number of considerations:—

1. The peculiar phraseology of the passages determines this fact. Those servants who were claimed and treated as property, or absolute slaves, are said to be “under the yoke;” those who were not claimed and held in this state, had “believing masters.”

“Let as many servants as are *under the yoke*, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.

“But they that have *believing masters*, let them not despise them, because they are brethren;—but rather do them service, because they are faithful partakers of the benefit.”

That *δε*, in this second verse, is an adversative conjunction, and should be rendered *but*, is well known, as this is not the word which is generally translated *and*, in the New Testament. Hence we say, that the manner of the apostle’s speaking here proves that two kinds of servants are meant; first,

he refers to such as were claimed and held by their heathen masters as their absolute property, and tells them what he wishes them to do, and the reason why they should do it ; and then he speaks of another class, by saying—" But those who have believing masters," and who, consequently were not claimed, held, and treated as property, and who are thus put in opposition to such as were " under the yoke."

2. Look at the different motives by which these two classes of servants are exhorted to perform certain duties. Those " under the yoke" are exhorted to obedience, upon the consideration that their disobedience would bring a *dishonor* upon religion. Not so with those who had " believing masters ;" these were exhorted not to forsake their masters, because they were brethren, and which exhortation is plainly based upon the supposition, that they might forsake them if they chose. But to interpret the second verse as referring to one and the same kind of servants, and also to one and the same kind of masters as those mentioned in the first verse, so far as the act of slaveholding was concerned, at once destroys the evident distinction made here by the apostle. This is so plain, that we see not how any one can deny it.

3. But suppose the apostle, instead of saying " believing despotes," had said converted idolater, or converted Jew, should we understand him as meaning by these terms, a real, practical idolater, or a real practical Jew ? Not at all ; no more than when a man speaks of a *converted infidel*—we are to understand him as meaning to designate one who

had never embraced the Christian religion. And thus one might speak of a converted slaveholder, using the term *slaveholder*, not to describe his present relation, but to designate his former character ; and precisely in this sense we believe the apostle used the term "*despotes*" in 1 Tim. vi. 2.

Specific Directions of the New Testament.

Another argument drawn from the New Testament, is generally stated thus : The apostles, by their specific directions to masters and servants, did, *de facto*, justify the *relation* which existed between the *slaveholder* and his *slave*. To this we answer :

(1.) This argument takes for granted, what has never been proved, *viz.* that all the servants and masters mentioned in the New Testament, were *slaves* and *slaveholders*.

(2.) But, admitting that the apostles did mean to justify the "*relation*" which existed between master and slave, when that "*relation*" gave the master the body of the slaves as his *absolute property*, then it follows as an undeniable consequence that the holy apostles did mean to justify all the "*rights*" to which this "*relation*" entitled the master. If they justified such a "*relation*," they justified and approved *all the parts* of which it was composed. And hence it would follow that the apostles justified, approved, and sanctioned a relation which authorized every master to commit *theft*, *adultery* and *murder*. Those Romans who held slaves in that relation, had a right in virtue of it, not only "to box" them or "to cuff" them "on the ear," but they were autho-

rized and empowered by this relation to *torture* them, to *maim* them, and to *put them to death* in any way they chose, and according to Dr. Taylor's "Elements of Civil law," those slaves *could not be injured* in any way. And a relation which authorized and justified such *cruelties*, such *horrible*, and we may add, *diabolical injustice* as all this, many professing Christians and Ministers of the Gospel pretend to believe is "authorized," "permitted," and "sanctioned by the Bible !!!"

CHAPTER IX.

JEWISH SERVITUDE UNLIKE AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Peculiarities of the Jewish Economy.

1. A Hebrew was permitted to kill a man who had murdered his friend, (Num. xxxv. 19,) and he might do this without the process of a trial. And upon the same ground, the Jews were permitted to commence and carry on exterminating wars against the idolatrous nations around them. Hence, we suppose, that it is as really wrong for any man in this age of the world to take away the liberty of his innocent neighbor, or to withhold it from him in any way, without an express permission from God, as it would be for one to kill the murderer of his friend now, without the forms of law.

No hereditary Slavery among the Jews.

2. Two-thirds of the servants in Israel were free at the end of six years ; and the fiftieth year all

were set free. There was no such thing as hereditary servitude among the Jews. Lev. xxv. 10 ; Deut. xv. 12.

But American slavery is perpetual to the very last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and by law it is entailed upon all of his descendants, to the latest posterity.

Jewish servitude was voluntary.

3. Jewish servitude was voluntary, except in those cases where it was the penalty annexed to crime. They sold *themselves*, i. e. their service, for an equivalent, so they were not slaves ; as an equivalent—to a state of slavery—is impossible.—Lev. xxv. 47 ; Neh. v. 8 ; Deut. xxviii. 68 ; [Expose yourselves for sale,] 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25 ; 2 Kings xvii. 17 ; Isa. l. 1 ; Rom. vii. 14 ; Jer. xxxiv. 14, margin, *sold himself*.

But American slavery is involuntary. No one who is now a slave in this land, was ever consulted, before his liberty was taken away, whether he would be a slave or not, and if he had been, he could not have given his master a just and proper title to his body as his property.

Jewish servants could contend with their masters.

4. Under the Mosaic economy, servants might contend with their masters about their rights ; and to despise the cause of which was considered a heinous crime. Job xxxi. 13.

But here, in this land of Christians, slaves can make no contract of any kind, they can have no legal right to any property ; all they have and are belongs to their masters.

Jewish servants made free when cruelly treated.

5. The laws of Moses granted freedom to a servant who had been cruelly treated. Exodus xxi. 26, 27.

But our Christian laws allow the master to punish his slave as much as he desires, and afford the slave no redress; nay, if the slave makes any resistance, the law expressly justifies the master in *putting him to death*. In Kentucky, "any negro, mulatto, or *Indian*, bond or free;" who "shall at any time" even "*lift his hand* in opposition to ANY *white person*, shall receive THIRTY LASHES on his or her *bare back*, WELL LAID ON, by order of the justice."

Servitude among the Jews did not jeopardize the lives of servants.

6. The master who killed a servant with a rod or by blows, suffered the penalty of death, as other murderers. Lev. xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv. 30. So that their lives were as safe and as valuable in the eye of the law as their master's.

In these United States, many a slave has been killed by the treatment he has received from the hand of his master, overseer, or driver; and no instance has been known of a white man's being put to death for such murder.

Domestic relations.

7. Servants were carefully protected among the Jews in their domestic relations; so that parents and their children must not be separated. And in case the mother did not get her freedom as soon as her husband, the children remained with her; and her master was bound to receive him to service.

again, in case he chose to live with his wife and children. Ex. xxi. 7, 11. They were entitled to an adequate subsistence. Deut. xxv. 4 ; 1 Tim. v. 18 ; 1 Cor. ix. 9, and treated with humanity. Lev. xxv. 39, 53.

But here, slaves are entirely unprotected in their social and domestic relations ; husbands and wives, parents and their children may be, and they are separated and parted forever, at the irresponsible will of the master.

It is true that a law in one of the States provides, that "Every owner shall be held to give his slaves one barrel of Indian corn, or the equivalent thereof in rice, *beans*, or other grain, and a pint of salt ; and to deliver the same in kind *every month*, under the penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence." But this law may be, as it is, easily evaded, on the ground that the slave cannot be a party in a civil suit, or a colored person a witness against a white person.

A law of North Carolina provides that each slave shall receive at least "*one quart* of corn per day ;" and if any one who does not receive this amount be convicted of stealing corn, cattle, &c. from any person not the owner of such slave, such injured person may maintain an action of trespass against the master, and shall recover his or her damages. Another law provides, that "the slave shall be entitled to receive from his owner *one* linen shirt and pantaloons for the summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great coat and pantaloons for the winter.

Instruction and consolation.

8. The laws of Moses secured to servants the

necessary means of instruction and consolation. Deut. xxxi. 9, 13 ; xxix. 10, 13.

But no such laws exist in this land ; here the operation of the laws tend directly to deprive the slaves of all “ mental ” and religious “ instruction,” for their whole power is exerted to keep the slaves in the lowest kind of ignorance.

Laws for the protection of strangers.

9. The laws of Moses required every one to pity and love the strangers who might chance to come among the Jews, and under severe penalties they were forbidden to vex or oppress them in any way. Ex. xxiii. 6, 9 ; xxi. 20 ; xii. 48, 50 ; Lev. xix. 33, 34 ; xxv. 35, 36 ; Num. xv. 15, 16, 29 ; Deut. i. 16, 17 ; x. 18, 19 ; Exodus xxii. 21 ; xxiii. 9.

Here the laws view every colored stranger as an enemy, and they consider him a slave until he proves his freedom.

Fugitive servants.

10. If a servant escaped from his master and fled to the land of Israel the law of Moses commanded every one to protect him ; and forbade any one to deliver such to his master again. Deut. xxiii. 15.

But here, if a slave escape from his master, and flee to any part of the United States, the law forbids any one to protect him, and commands that he be delivered up to his master.

Husbands and Wives.

11. If a Jewish servant had taken a wife of his master, and wished still to live with him, he had the privilege. Ex. xxi. 5, 6 ; Deut. xv. 18.

But it is not thus with American slaves ; among them, husbands and wives are parted at the irresponsible will of the slave-holder. In point of law, an American slave cannot be married at all.

Time for rest allowed Jewish servants.

12. Those servants among the Jews who had served fifty years had *at least seventeen years rest* in Sabbaths, feasts, &c. Ex. xx. 10 ; Deut. v. 14 ; xii. 17, 18 ; xvi. 11 ; Matt. xxv. 21, 23.

But nothing of this kind has ever been known among the Americans held in bondage by the Christians of this nation.

When they were set free, compensation was allowed them and not to their masters.

13. When Jewish servants went out free, they were to be liberally furnished with means to begin life with. Ex. xxi. 2, 4 ; Lev. xxv. 17 ; Deut. xv. 13, 14.

But in this land, if any poor slave goes free at all, by the consent of his master, he goes free with nothing but his poor worn out body, and his master demands a price for his liberation !

Jewish servants held property.

14. They had the fruits of the *rest years*, and gleanings of harvests. Lev. xix. 9, 10 ; xxv. 6 ; Ex. xxiii. 11 ; 1 Sam. ix. 8 ; Matt. xviii. 25.

But here a slave can possess nothing but what is made by law to belong to his master.

They were endowed with authority.

15. Eligible to offices. 1 Chron. xv. 18 ; xvi. 5,

38 ; xxvi. 12, 14 ; Matt. xxv. 21 ; 2 Sam. ix. 9, 10 ; Neh. v. 15.

Not so in this nation. Here a slave cannot be a witness in a case where a white man is concerned. And in the city of New York a free colored American, in the year 1836, could not obtain a license even to drive a cart. And in many parts of the country, colored Americans are not admitted to the elective franchise.

Jewish servants could not be made articles of traffic.

16. They could not be sold. Ex. xxi. 7, 8.

But here thousands of slaves are sold, annually, from one State to another, and many of them by members and ministers of the same church to which the slaves themselves belong.

They were marriageable in the families of their masters.

17. Jewish masters were obligated to provide for the marriage of maid servants, if they did not take them to themselves, or sons. Ex. xxi. 8.

But American slaveholders allow no legal marriages for their slaves, but they rather provide for their living in concubinage and adultery.

They were on a level with the children under age.

18. They could be incorporated into the family. Ex. xxi. 8, 9, by circumcision. Ex. xii. 43, 45 ; Lev. xxii. 10, 11 ; 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35, consequently, could be heirs. Gen. xv. 3 ; Prov. xvii. 2 ; Mark xii. 7 ; Luke xx. 14.

But American slaves have no such privileges ;—they are on a level with brutes, so far as rights are

concerned—they can make no bargains of any kind.

No impediments in the way to prevent the freedom of Jewish servants.

19. They could be redeemed, or redeem themselves, at any time. Lev. xxv. 48.

American slaves have no such power. Here, laws have been enacted to prevent emancipation, even when the slaveholder is willing to confer it.

Thus we see, that the evils which are always, more or less, attendant upon American slavery, were not consequent upon the servitude allowed among the Jews, such as slave prisons, slave markets, slave auctions, chains, iron yokes, shackles, whips, thumbscrews, &c. &c. Among the Jews there was no violent separation of parents and children, no parting of husbands and wives, no barbarous punishments, or any one thing in fact, which rendered Jewish servitude like American slavery.

CHAPTER X.

SCRIPTURE ARGUMENT AGAINST SLAVERY.

Slaveholding is Theft.

1. To claim, hold, and treat a human being as property, is felony against God and man. Ex. xx. 15; Deut. xxiv. 7. If it be theft to reduce a man to slavery, it must be equally so to keep him in this state.

About sixty thousand human beings are feloniously reduced to slavery in this country every year. As soon as they are born, they are claimed, seized, held, and treated as property.

Covetousness.

2. All slaveholding and slave dealing is *covetousness*, and as such, it is forbidden. Ex. xx. 17; Isa. lvii. 17; Jer. li. 13; Ezek. xxxiii. 31; Luke xii. 15; Col. iii. 5; 2 Pet. ii. 3.

The man who claims the body of his fellow man as his property, does, thereby, covet that which, in the very nature of things, must belong to his neighbor, and to which no circumstances can give him a just title.

Oppression.

3. Slavery is the very worst form of *oppression*. Oppression is the spoiling or taking of another's person or goods or the fruit of his labor, by constraint, violence or force; and this crime is committed whenever any one human being offers violence to the person, estate, or conscience of another. Prov. xiv. 31; xxviii. 3; Isa. xlix. 26; Jer. vii. 6; xxi. 12, 13; Hos. xii. 7; Amos iv. 1; Mic. ii. 2; Zach. vii. 10; Mal. iii. 5; Eccl. iv. 1; Ezek. xxii. 29; Amos iii. 9.

Manstealing.

4. Slavery is manstealing, and as such is forbidden, under the severest penalties. Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

How has the present slaveholder come into the possession of the children whom he now holds as

his slaves? They were never willed to him, nor did he purchase them of another. How could he take possession of them, and part them from their parents without stealing them?

Enslavers.

5. The law of God was made for *enslavers*. 1 Tim. i. 10. The word here rendered menstealers, *signifies to enslave, to reduce to slavery, to treat men as cattle.*

Fraud and robbery.

6. Slavery is *legalized wholesale fraud and robbery*. Ezek. xviii. 4; Mal. iii. 8, 9; Prov. xxi. 7; Isa. lxi. 8; Ezek. xxii. 29; Amos iii. 10; Nah. iii. 1; Mark x. 19; 1 Thes. iv. 6; Jer. xxii. 3; James v. 4.

Traffic in the persons of Men forbidden.

7. American slavery is condemned in all those places which forbid trading in the persons of men. Ezek. xxii. 13; Joel iii. 3, 6; Amos ii. 6; Zach. xi. 4, 5; Rev. xviii. 13.

It could not exist without the slave trade.

Christian kindness.

8. The exercise of that kindness and pity which are commanded in the Bible towards the poor, is utterly irreconcilable with slavery. Lev. xxv. 35; Job vi. 14; xxxi. 16; Psal. xli. 1; lxxxii. 3; Prov. xxii. 22; xxiv. 11; xxxi. 8; Isa. i. 16; and lviii. throughout; Jer. xxxiv. 10; Matt. xxv. 44; Heb. xiii. 3; 1 John iii. 17.

Duties of masters.

9. American slavery is condemned in the specific directions of the Apostle to masters and servants. 1 Cor. vii. 21, 23 ; Eph. vi. 9 ; Col. iv. 1.

These precepts, if obeyed, would annihilate slavery at once, and forever.

Analogy of the Gospel.

10. It is condemned in all those passages which represent the *evils of sin* by slavery, and gospel benefits by freedom. Gal. iv. 3, 7, 22, 31 ; v. 1, 13 ; Isa. lxi. 1, 3 ; John viii. 32, 36.

The golden rule.

11. By the reciprocal and universal law of love which is binding on all men. Matt. v. 7 ; vii. 12 ; xxii. 37 ; John xv. 12, 17 ; Rom. xii. 9 ; 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 8.

Spirit of the Gospel.

12. Slavery cannot be reconciled with the spirit and design of the gospel. It will not exist surely in the millennial state. Gen. iii. 15 ; xxii. 18 ; Luke iv. 18 ; 1 Cor. iii. 17 ; Zeph. iii. 9 ; Matt. iii. 10.

If it is condemned by the spirit of the gospel. The precepts of the gospel must be against it, of course, because the spirit of the gospel is learned from its precepts.

Conditions of salvation.

13. To claim, hold and treat a human being as property, is utterly at variance with the conditions upon which man is authorized to expect forgiveness

and salvation from God. Matt. v. 23. Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath AUGHT against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; FIRST be reconciled with thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

CHAPTER X.

SENTIMENTS FAVORABLE TO THE PERPETUITY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY

Governor McDuffie.

Domestic slavery, therefore, instead of being a political evil, is the corner-stone of our republican edifice. No patriot who justly estimates our privileges, will tolerate the idea of emancipation, at any period, however remote, or on any conditions of pecuniary advantage, however favorable. I would as soon think of opening a negotiation for selling the liberty of the state at once, as for making any stipulation for the ultimate emancipation of our slaves. So deep is my conviction on this subject, that if I were doomed to die immediately after recording these sentiments, I could say in all sincerity, and under all the sanction of Christianity and patriotism, GOD FORBID THAT MY DESCENDANTS, IN THE REMOTEST GENERATIONS, SHOULD LIVE IN ANY OTHER THAN A COMMUNITY HAVING THE INSTITUTION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

Testimony from Charleston, S. C.

One of the most imposing assemblages of citizens in respect of numbers, intelligence and respectability that we have ever witnessed, met yesterday morning at the City Hall, to receive the report of twenty-one, appointed by the meeting on the 4th instant, on the incendiary machinations

now in progress against the peace and welfare of the southern states. *The clergy of all denominations attended in a body, lending their sanction to the proceedings, and adding by their presence to the impressive character of the scene !*

[After the most violent threats against the discussion of the subject of slavery, the meeting closed with the following resolution :]

On motion of Captain Lynch,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to the reverend gentlemen of the CLERGY in this city, who have so promptly and so effectually responded to public sentiment, *by suspending their schools in which the free colored population were taught ;* and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action, worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by other teachers of similar schools throughout the state !!!—*Charleston Cour.*

Testimony from Camden, S. C.

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the citizens of Camden, S. C., in 1834 :

“ Resolved, That slavery, as it exists with us, *we deny to be an evil*, and that we regard those who are now making war upon it, in any shape, or under any pretext, as furious fanatics, or knaves, and hypocrites ; and we hereby promise them, upon all occasion which may put them in our power, the fate of the *pirate*, the *incendiary*, and the *midnight assassin !”*

Testimony from Lancasterville, S. C.

The following documents are taken from the Southern Christian Herald :

At a public meeting, held at Lancasterville, for the purpose of taking into consideration the proceedings of the Abolitionists of the North, several resolutions were passed, and by request the meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. H. Thornwell, and the Rev. William Carlisle. The Rev.

Mr. Postell's sentiments, contained in a letter, were read at the meeting. The purport of the resolution was as follows:

That Slavery, as it exists in the South, is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold.

Rev. J. H. Thornwell's testimony, Methodist.

I cannot regard slavery as a moral evil for the following reasons:

1. It was distinctly recognized by Moses.

2. It is not inconsistent with the precepts of Christianity. 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21. The word translated *servant* means a slave. 1 Tim. vi. 1.

[This is a great mistake. See page 36 and 37.]

As I cannot believe that slavery is wrong in itself, I am decidedly opposed to the measures of the abolitionists.

Testimony of the Charleston Courier.

We protest against the *assumption*—the unwarrantable assumption—that slavery is ultimately to be extirpated from the southern states. *Ultimate* abolitionists are enemies of the South, the same in kind, and only less in degree, than *immediate* abolitionists.

Testimony of the Columbia, S. C. Telescope.

Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not, and shall not be open to discussion—that the system is deep rooted among us, and **MUST REMAIN FOREVER**: that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, *in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon a dunghill.*

Testimony of the Washington Telegraph.

As a man, a Christian, and a citizen, we believe that slavery is right; that the condition of the slave, as it now exists in slaveholding states, is the best existing organization of civil society.

Testimony of the Charleston Courier.

We beg him, however, [Mr. Fletcher, one of the speakers at Faneuil Hall] and all who like him, acknowledge their affectionate interest in their political obligations to the South, to disabuse themselves of the notion that the South regards slavery as an evil, or even dreams of its removal. Our institutions are likely to endure for ages, if not to be perpetual; and while they do endure, and are endured by us, we cannot recognize the moral or social, to say nothing of the political propriety, of denouncing them as *evil*. Our right in the subject-matter is perfect and exclusive, and not a tongue should wag, or breath be stirred, against its exercise.

Testimony of the Augusta, Geo. Chronicle.

He [Amos Dresser] should have been hung up as high as Haman to rot upon the gibbet, until the wind whistled through his bones. The cry of the whole South should be **DEATH, INSTANT DEATH** to the abolitionist, *wherever he is caught*. Northern Abolitionists are a class of desperate fanatics, who, to accomplish their unhallowed ends, are ready to sacrifice our lives, and those of our wives and children. Keep their publications from among us, and **HANG** every emissary that dare step a lawless foot upon our soil—cut off all trade with every northern house connected with them, &c.

Testimony of the Rev. J. C. Postell, Methodist.

The following is from an Address of the Rev. J. C. Postell, delivered at a public meeting, held at Orangeburgh Court-house, S. C., on the 21st of July, 1836.

I have not time, at present, nor do I wish to trespass upon your patience, in a lengthy address on this subject; but to comply with your request, involves my duty as your minister, and the servant of the Church, and from what has been promised, the following conclusions result:

1st. That slavery is a judicial visitation.

2d. That it is not a moral evil.

3d. That it is supported by the Bible.

4th. It existed in all ages.

The reverend orator then takes up the above points, and argues them at some length, but we have not room to follow him. On the second proposition, he says :

It is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment, would be proof enough with the Christian, that it could not be a moral evil. But when we view the hordes of savages, marauders and human cannibals enslaved to lust and passion, and abandoned to idolatry and ignorance, to revolutionize them from such a state, and enslave them where they may have the Gospel, and the privileges of Christians, so far from being a moral evil, it is a **MERCIFUL VISITATION**. If slavery was either the invention of man or a moral evil, it is logical to conclude, the power to create has the power to destroy. Why then, has it existed? And why does it now exist? amidst all the power of legislation in state and church, and the clamor of abolitionists. **'IT IS THE LORD'S DOINGS, AND MARVELLOUS IN OUR EYES.'** And had it not been done for the best, God alone who is able, long since would have overruled it. **IT IS BY DIVINE APPOINTMENT.**

Testimony of the Rev. James Smylie, Presbyterian.

The Reverend James Smylie, A. M., a Presbyterian minister in Mississippi, says in a pamphlet, he has recently published in favor of American slavery :

If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the divine law, and if *the buying, selling, or holding a slave* FOR THE SAKE OF GAIN, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, **THREE FOURTHS OF ALL THE EPISCOPALIANS, METHODISTS, BAPTISTS AND PRESBYTERIANS, IN ELEVEN STATES OF THE UNION, are of the Devil.—They**

‘hold,’ if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, *with few exceptions*, they hesitate not to ‘apprehend and restore’ runaway slaves, when in their power.

Charleston Union Presbytery.

Extract from the minutes of the Charleston Union Presbytery, at their meeting on the 7th April, 1836.

It is a principle which meets the views of this body, that slavery, as it exists among us, is a political institution, with which ecclesiastical judicatories have not the smallest right to interfere ; and in relation to which, any such interference, especially at the present momentous crisis, would be *morally wrong*, and fraught with the most dangerous and pernicious consequences. The sentiments which *we maintain, in common with Christians at the South, of every denomination*, are sentiments which so fully approve themselves to our consciences, are so indented with our solemn convictions of duty, that we should maintain them under any circumstances.

E. T. BUST, Moderator.

B. GILDERSLEEVE, Temporary Clerk.

Synod of South Carolina and Georgia.

Resolution of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, Dec. 1834.

Resolved, unanimously, That in the opinion of this Synod, Abolition Societies, and the principles on which they are founded, in the United States, are inconsistent with the interests of the slaves, the rights of the holders, and the great principles of our political institution.

Testimony of the Missionary Society of the South Carolina Conference.

The following declaration of sentiments has been published in Charleston, South Carolina, by the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church :

We denounce the principles and opinions of the abolitionists in toto ; and solemnly do declare our conviction and belief that, whether they were originated, as some business men have thought, as a money speculation, or, as some politicians think, for party electioneering purposes, or, as we are inclined to believe, in a false philosophy, overreaching or setting aside the scriptures through a vain conceit of higher moral refinement, they are utterly erroneous, and altogether hurtful. We consider and believe that the *Holy Scriptures*, so far from giving any countenance to this delusion, do unequivocally *authorize* the relation of MASTER and SLAVE.

Hopewell Presbytery, South Carolina.

On the subject of domestic slavery, this Presbytery believe the following facts have been most incontrovertibly established, viz :

1. Slavery has existed in the Church of God from the time of Abraham to this day. Members of the Church of God have held slaves bought with their money, and born in their houses ; and this relation is not only recognized, but its duties are defined clearly both in the Old and New Testaments.

2. Emancipation is not mentioned among the duties of the master to his slave. While obedience "even to the forward" master is enjoined upon the slave.

3. No instance can be produced of an otherwise orderly Christian, being REPROVED, much less EXCOMMUNICATED from the church, for the single act of holding domestic slaves, from the days of Abraham down to the date of the modern abolitionist.

Synod of Virginia, Presbyterian.

The committee to whom were referred the resolutions, &c., have, according to order, had the same under consideration—and respectfully report that in their judgment, the following resolutions are necessary and proper to be adopted by the Synod at the present time.

Whereas, the publications and proceedings of certain organized associations, commonly called anti-slavery, or

abolition societies, which have arisen in some parts of our land, have greatly disturbed, and are still greatly disturbing, the peace of the church, and of the country; and the Synod of Virginia deem it a solemn duty which they owe to themselves and to the community to declare their sentiments upon the subject; therefore,

Resolved, unanimously, That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said associations—that slavery as it exists in our slaveholding States is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God.

Testimony of the Rev. R. N. Anderson, Presbyterian.

To the Sessions of the Presbyterian Congregations within the bounds of the West Hanover Presbytery:

At the approaching stated meeting of our Presbytery, I design to offer a preamble and string of resolutions on the subject of the use of wine in the Lord's Supper; and also a preamble and a string of resolutions on the subject of the treasonable and abominably wicked interference of the northern and eastern fanatics with our political and civil rights, our property, and our domestic concerns. You are aware that our clergy, whether with or without reason, are more suspected by the public than are the clergy of other denominations. Now, dear Christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men. If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the bloodhound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.

Your affectionate brother in the Lord.

1835.

ROBERT N. ANDERSON !!!

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The following statements were made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened in Pittsburgh in May, 1836, and they have never been contradicted:

He (Mr. Dicky) believed there were many and great evils in the Presbyterian Church ; but the doctrine of slaveholding, he was fully persuaded, was the worst heresy now found in the Church.

Mr. Stewart—I hope this Assembly are prepared to come out fully, and declare their sentiments that slaveholding is a most flagrant and heinous SIN. Let us not pass it by in this indirect way, while so many thousands of our fellow creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted too by *ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church*.

In THIS CHURCH, a man may take a free-born child, force it away from its parents to whom God gave it in charge, saying, “Bring it up for me,” and sell it as a beast, or hold it in perpetual bondage, and not only escape corporeal punishment, but really be esteemed an excellent Christian. *Nay, even ministers of the Gospel, and doctors of divinity,* may engage in this unholy traffic, and yet sustain their high and holy calling.

* * * * *

Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity are with both hands engaged in the practice.

* * * * *

The same Assembly, in 1816, struck out of the Confession of the Church the following note, adopted in 1794, and which contained the doctrine of the church at that period, on the subject of slaveholding. The note was appended to the one hundred and forty-second question of the large catechism :

1 Tim. i. 10. The law is made for MANSTEALERS. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment ; Exodus xxi. 16 ; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or *in retaining them in it. Homnium furis, qui seives vel libros abducent, retinent vendunt, vel emunt.*—Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and KEEP, SELL, OR BUY THEM. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery,

we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth. Gen. i. 28. *Vide Poli synopsis in loc.*

Methodist Church, in 1780.

In the year 1780, the sentiments of the Methodist societies in this country were thus expressed upon this subject, in the minutes of the Conference for that year :

The conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to THE LAWS OF GOD, MAN AND NATURE, and hurtful to society; CONTRARY TO THE DICTATES OF CONSCIENCE AND PURE RELIGION; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us; and they pass their DISAPPROBATION upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.

And from Lee's History of the Methodists, page 101, we learn that the M. E. Church was organized, with a number of express rules upon this subject, which stipulated that slavery *should not be continued* in this church in those States which admitted emancipation. One of them declared that :

Those who *bought* or *sold* SLAVES, or gave them away, unless on purpose to free them, should be expelled immediately.

And forty years ago the discipline of this church contained the following directions upon the subject :

The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro slavery with deep attention; and that they impart to the General Conference through the medium of the Yearly Conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the Conference may have *full light*, in order to take further steps towards eradicating this ENORMOUS EVIL from that part of the Church of God with which they are connected. The Annual Conferences are *directed* to draw up addresses for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, to the legislatures of those states in which no general laws have been passed for that purpose. These addresses shall *urge*, in the most

respectful but pointed manner, the necessity of a law for the gradual emancipation of slaves. Proper committees shall be appointed by the Annual Conferences, out of the most respectable of our friends, for the conducting of the business; and the presiding elders, elders, deacons, and travelling preachers, shall procure as many proper signatures as possible to the addresses, and give all the assistance in their power, in EVERY RESPECT to aid the committees, and to further this blessed undertaking. Let this be continued from year to year, till the desired end be accomplished.

General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1836.

But the above was long ago left out of the Discipline of this church, and at the session of its highest ecclesiastical body in Cincinnati, in May, 1836, the following resolution was adopted, yeas 120, noes 14.

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences, in the *General Conference assembled*, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave, as it exists in the slaveholding states of this Union.

A motion was made to amend the above resolution by putting in the words, "Although we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," the language of the Discipline, but this motion was lost.

Testimony of Rev. W. Winans, Methodist.

At this same General Conference of the M. E. Church, the Rev. Mr. Winans, a prominent, popular preacher, and a southern delegate, confessed himself there a *slaveholder*; solemnly asserted that "it was important to the interests of the slaves, and in view of the question of slavery, that there be Christians

who were slaveholders. Christian ministers should be slaveholders, and diffused throughout the South. Yes, he repeated, there should be "*members*, and DEACONS, and ELDERS, and BISHOPS, too, who were slaveholders."

Mr. Winans, in relating an anecdote in Conference, to show the inexpediency of abolition efforts, as regards their influence on the prosperity of the southern church, intimated that the article in the Methodist Discipline on the subject of slavery was, in fact, a dead letter.

Testimony of Dr. Capers, Methodist.

Dr. Capers in his speech, in mentioning various reasons why Methodists, after a certain date, became less odious to the people of the southern states, said—"at length people began to consider that many of them were slaveholders—why should they be insurrectionists?"

Again—the southern section of the Methodist church is now murmuring because slaveholding ministers are excluded from the highest offices in the churches—nay more—disunion is seriously, openly hinted at by prominent preachers in the South, if hereafter, the fact of *a minister being a slaveholder*, is considered valid reason for withholding from him the office of BISHOP.

Testimony of Chancellor Harper, of Charleston, S. C.

"It is the order of nature and of GOD, *that the being of superior faculties and knowledge, and therefore of superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior. It is as much in the order of nature, that men should enslave each other, as that OTHER animals should prey upon each other.*"

Testimony of Prof. Hodge, Presbyterian.

It is acknowledged that, at the time of the Advent of Jesus Christ, *slavery* in its worst forms prevailed over the whole world. The Savior found it around him in Judea; the Apostles met with it in Asia, Greece and Italy. How did they treat it? Not by the denunciation of *slaveholding* as necessarily *sinful*. The assumption that slaveholding is, in itself, a crime, is not only an error, but it is an error fraught with evil consequences.—*Bib. Rep. April, 1836.*

Testimony of W. B. Seabrook, of S. C.

In the judgment of my fellow-citizens, *slavery* is *not inconsistent with the laws of nature and of God*. The Bible informs us, that it was ESTABLISHED and SANCTIONED by DIVINE AUTHORITY even among the elect of Heaven.—*Essay, read before the Agricultural Society of St. John's Collection, 1836.*

Testimony of Edward Brown, of S. C.

Slavery has ever been the step-ladder by which civilized countries have passed from barbarism to civilization. It appears, indeed, to be the *only* state capable of bringing the love of independence and of ease, inherent in man, to the discipline necessary to the supply of food, raiment, and shelter, necessary to his physical wants.—*Notes on the origin and necessity of Slavery, 1826.*

Testimony of Dr. Dalcho, of S. C., Episcopalian.

Slavery is not forbidden by the Divine Law, so it is left to our own judgment whether we hold slaves or not.—*Practical Considerations, &c. 1823.*

Charleston Courier.

We confidently pronounce, that he must wilfully shut his eyes against the broad and palpable light of truth, who will not acknowledge that the Old Testament conclusively shows, that slavery was not only not condemned, but received the *express sanction* of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.—1835.

Testimony of W. A. Duer, LL. D., Episcopalian.

We deny that it is a crime to retain [in slavery] those ignorant and helpless beings, who have been cast upon [our] protection, as well as thrown into [our] power by no act of their own.—*3d An. Rep. N. Y. City Col. Society.*

Testimony of the Quarterly Christian Spectator, Presbyterian.

The Bible contains no *explicit prohibition* of slavery, it recognizes both in the Old Testament and in the New, such a constitution of society, and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution.—1833.

Testimony of Dr. R. Furman, Baptist.

The right of holding slaves is clearly *established* in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example.—*Exposition of the views of the Baptists, addressed to the Governor of S. Carolina, 1833.*

Testimony of T. R. Dew, Prof. of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in William and Mary College, Episcopalian.

Slavery was *established* and SANCTIONED by Divine authority, among even the elect of Heaven—the favored children of Israel.—*Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature of 1831 and 1832.*

Testimony of Rev. E. D. Simms, Prof. of Lang., Randolph, Macon College, Methodist.

These extracts from HOLY WRIT UNEQUIVOCALLY ASSERT THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY IN SLAVES, together with the usual incidents of that right; such as the power of acquisition and disposition in various ways according to municipal regulations. The right to buy and sell, and to transmit to children, by way of inheritance, is clearly stated. The only restriction on the subject, is in reference to the *market*, in which slaves or bondmen were to be purchased.

Upon the whole then, whether we consult the Jewish polity instituted by God himself; or the uniform opinion and practice of mankind in all ages of the world; or the injunctions of the New Testament and the Moral Law;

we are brought to the conclusion, that Slavery is not immoral.

Having established the point, that the first African slaves were legally brought into bondage, the right to detain their children in bondage follows as an indispensable consequence.

Thus we see, that the Slavery which exists in America, was *founded in right*.

Testimony of Rev. E. Hedding, D. D., Methodist.

The right to hold a slave is founded on this rule, 'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would, that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.'—*Ch. Ad. and Journal, Oct. 20th, 1837.*

Testimony of Rev. G. W. Freeman, Episcopalian.

No man nor set of men in our day are entitled to pronounce it **WRONG**—and we may add that slavery, as it exists at the present day, IS AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.—*Sermon, Nov. 1836.*

Testimony of Rev. T. Clapp, Congregationalist.

God, says the sacred historian, gave to the patriarch lands, flocks, herds, silver, gold, camels, *bond-men and bond women*. Here we see **GOD, DEALING IN SLAVES**; giving them to his own favorite child—a man of superlative worth—and as a reward for his eminent goodness.

The "Counter Appeal," Methodist.

The general rule of *Christianity not only permits, but in supposable circumstances, enjoins a continuance of the master's authority.*

We say then, that this text in Col. iii. 22–25, proves *to a demonstration*, that in the primitive Christian church at Colosse, under the Apostolic eye, and with the Apostolic sanction, *the relation of master and slave was permitted to subsist.*

1 Cor. vii. 20–23.

This text seems mainly to enjoin and sanction the fitting

continuance of their present social relations; the freeman was to remain free, and the slave, unless emancipation should offer, *was to remain a slave*.

The New Testament, enjoins obedience upon the slave as an obligation *due* to a present *rightful* authority.

W. Fisk, John Lindsey, Bartholomew Otheman, Hezekiah S. Ramsdell, Edward T. Taylor, Jacob Sanborn, H. H. White.—March 27, 1835.

Testimony of Prof. Whedon, Methodist.

There were Christian or believing *slaveholders* in the [primitive] Christian church. Now whatever *δουλος* means, here (1 Tim. vi. 2) *despotai* are unequivocally slaveholders, who are *brethren, faithful and beloved partakers of the [gospel] benefit*.—*Zion's Herald of March 30, 1836*.

Testimony of the Rev. W. Fisk, D. D., Methodist.

The relation of master and *slave*, may and *does*, in many cases, exist, under such circumstances, as free the master from the just charge and guilt of immorality.—*Letter to Rev. T. Merritt*.

Testimony of Rev. N. Bangs, D. D., Methodist.

It appears evident, that however much the apostle might have deprecated SLAVERY as it then existed throughout the Roman empire, he did not feel it his duty, as an ambassador of Christ, to disturb those *relations* which subsisted between masters and servants by denouncing slavery as such a mortal *sin* that they *could not be servants of Christ in such a relation*.—*Christ. Ad. and Journal, No. 431*.

The foregoing extracts are not quoted here to prove that each of the authors of them designed to *justify* or defend slavery as a *system*. But we think they do prove beyond a doubt, that the sentiment prevails very extensively throughout this nation, among professors of religion, ministers of the Gospel, presidents of colleges, &c. &c., that the act of slaveholding is, not in itself, *sinful*; and consequently it

follows, that a great change must take place in the views of this nation before slavery will ever be abolished.

CHAPTER XII.

PRACTICAL SLAVERY.

What is slavery in practice ? Many suppose that it often exists under some peculiar "circumstances," which, some how or other, "free the slaveholder from the just charge and guilt of immorality." What those "peculiar circumstances" are, however, we are not told.

We have had many fine spun theories on "slavery in the abstract ;" but it matters but little to the poor slave what slavery is in the abstract, its practice, however, is every thing to him. Hence, we think it proper to give a few facts like the following, as a work of this kind might be justly considered incomplete without them. In reading the following items, let it be remembered, that they describe such cases, precisely, as are occurring in the midst of slavery, every day ; slavery never did, and never will exist in any country, without perpetrating crimes like the following. We do not mean by this, that there are no enslavers who do not inflict corporeal cruelties upon the persons of their slaves, but we mean to say, that slavery cannot and never did exist without its *evils*, such as are here described.

The following items are selected from a most in-

teresting work entitled, " Narrative of Charles Ball, who was forty years a slave in Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia." In reading these extracts, it should be remembered, that the story this slave tells of himself, is true to the life, and similar narratives might be given by thousands of others in this land who are now in chains, and not suffered to speak for themselves.

Separation of parents and children.

At the time I was sold I was quite naked, having never had any clothing in my life ; but my new master had brought with him a child's frock, or wrapper, belonging to one of his own children—and after he purchased me, he dressed me in this garment, took me before him on his horse, and started home ; but my poor mother, when she saw me leaving her for the last time, ran after me, took me down from the horse, clasped me in her arms, and wept loudly and bitterly over me. My master seemed to pity her, and endeavored to soothe her distress by telling her that he would be a good master to me, and that I should not want any thing. She then, still holding me in her arms, walked along the road beside the horse, as he moved slowly, and earnestly and imploringly besought my master to buy her and the rest of her children and not permit them to be carried away by the negro buyers ; but whilst thus entreating him to save her and her family, the slave-driver who had first bought her, came running in pursuit of her with a raw hide in his hand. When he overtook us, he told her he was her master now, and ordered her to give that little negro to its owner, and come back with him.

My mother then turned to him and cried—" Oh, master, do not take me from my child !" Without making any reply, he gave her two or three heavy blows on the shoulders with his raw hide, snatched me from her arms, handed me to my master, and seizing her by one arm, dragged her back towards the place of sale. My master then quickened the pace of his horse ; and as we advanced, the cries of my poor parent became more and more indistinct. At length,

they died away in the distance, and I never again heard the voice of my poor mother. Young as I was, the horrors of that day sank deeply into my heart—and even at this time, though half a century has elapsed, the terrors of the scene return with painful vividness upon my memory. Frightened at the sight of the cruelties inflicted upon my poor mother, I forgot my own sorrows at parting from her, and clung to my new master as an angel and savior, when compared with the hardened fiend into whose power she had fallen.—She had been a kind and good mother to me—had warmed me in her bosom in the cold nights of winter, and had often divided the scanty pittance of food allowed her by her mistress between my brothers, and sisters, and me, and gone supperless to bed herself. Whatever victuals she could obtain beyond the coarse food, salt fish, and corn bread allowed to slaves on the Patuxent and Potomac rivers, she carefully distributed among her children, and treated us with all the tenderness which her own miserable condition would permit. I have no doubt that she was chained and driven to Carolina, and toiled out the residue of a forlorn and famished existence in the rice swamps or indigo fields of the South.

My father never recovered from the effects of the shock which this sudden and overwhelming ruin of his family gave him. He had formerly been of a gay, social temper; and when he came to see us on a Saturday night, he always brought us a little present, such as the means of a poor slave would allow—apples, melons, sweet potatoes, or, if he could procure nothing else, a little parched corn, which tasted better in our cabin because he had brought it.

Separation of Families.

My master kept a store at a small village on the bank of the Patuxent river, called B——, although he resided at some distance on a farm. One morning he rose early, and ordered me to take a yoke of oxen and go to the village to bring home a cart which was there, saying he would follow me. He arrived at the village soon after I did, and took his breakfast with his store-keeper. He then told me to come into the house and get my breakfast. Whilst I was eating in the kitchen, I observed him talking earnestly, but

lowly, to a stranger near the kitchen door. I soon after went out, and hitched my oxen to the cart, and was about to drive off, when several men came round about me, and amongst them the stranger whom I had seen speaking with my master.—This man came up to me, and, seizing me by the collar, shook me violently, saying I was his property, and must go with him to Georgia. At the sound of these words, the thoughts of my wife and children rushed across my mind—and my heart died away within me. I saw and knew that my case was hopeless, and that resistance was vain, as there were near twenty persons present, all of whom were ready to assist the man by whom I was kidnapped. I felt incapable of weeping or speaking, and in my despair I laughed loudly. My purchaser ordered me to cross my hands behind, which were quickly bound with a strong cord; and he then told me that we must set out that very day for the South. I asked if I could not be allowed to go to see my wife and children, or if this could not be permitted, if they might not have leave to come and see me—but was told that I would be able to get another wife in Georgia.

My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had bought in Maryland. Thirty-two of these were men, and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope about the size of a bed-cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was strongly fitted by means of a padlock, round each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlocks passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain, about a foot long, uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs. In this manner we were chained alternately by the right and left hand; and the poor man to whom I was thus ironed, wept like an infant when the blacksmith, with his heavy hammer, fastened the ends of the bolts that kept the staples from slipping from our arms.

For my own part, I felt indifferent to my fate. It appeared to me that the worst had come that could come, and that no change of fortune could harm me.

Feelings of a Father.

Long after the subject of this narrative had been parted from his wife and children in Maryland, and had passed from one master to another, he was taken to a plantation in South Carolina, and directed to lodge in a cabin, which is thus described:—

I followed my new friend to his cabin, which I found to be the habitation of himself, his wife, and five children. The only furniture in this cabin consisted of a few blocks of wood for seats; a short bench, made of pine boards, which served as a table; and a small bed in one corner, composed of a mat, made of common rushes, spread upon some corn husks, pulled and split into fine pieces, and kept together by a narrow slip of wood, confined to the floor by wooden pins. There was a common iron pot standing beside the chimney, and several wooden spoons and dishes hung against the wall. Several blankets also hung against the wall upon wooden pins. An old box, made of pine boards, without either lock or hinges, occupied one corner.

At the time I entered this humble abode, the mistress was not at home. She had not yet returned from the field—having been sent, as the husband informed me, with some other people, late in the evening, to do some work in a field about two miles distant. I found a child about a year old, lying on the mat bed, and a little girl about four years old sitting beside it.

These children were entirely naked, and when we came to the door, the elder rose from its place and ran to its father, and clasping him around one of his knees, said, “Now we shall get good supper.” The father laid his hand upon the head of his naked child, and stood silently looking in its face—which was turned upwards towards his own for a moment—and then turning to me, said, “Did you leave any children at home?” The scene before me—the question propounded—and the manner of this poor man and his

child, caused my heart to swell until my breast seemed too small to contain it. My soul fled back upon the wings of fancy to my wife's lowly dwelling in Maryland—where I had been so often met on a Saturday evening, when I had paid them my weekly visit, by my own little ones, who clung to my knees for protection and support, even as the poor little wretch now before me seized upon the weary limb of its hapless and destitute father, hoping that, naked as he was, (for he, too, was naked, save only the tattered remains of a pair of old trousers,) he would bring with his return at evening its customary scanty supper. I was unable to reply, but stood motionless, leaning against the walls of the cabin. My children seemed to flit by the door in the dusky twilight; and the twittering of a swallow, which that moment fluttered over my head, sounded in my ear as the infantile tittering of my own little boy; but on a moment's reflection, I knew that we were separated without the hope of ever again meeting—that they no more heard the welcome tread of my feet, and could never again receive the little gifts with which, poor as I was, I was accustomed to present them. I was far from the place of my nativity, in a land of strangers, with no one to care for me beyond the care that a master bestows upon his ox—with all my future life one long, waste, barren desert, of cheerless, hopeless slavery, to be varied only by the pangs of hunger, and the stings of the lash.

A slave mother.

As we went out in the morning, I observed several women who carried their young children in their arms to the field. These mothers laid their children at the side of the fence, or under the shade of the cotton plants, whilst they were at work; and when the rest of us went to get water, they would go to give suck to their children, requesting some one to bring them water in gourds, which they were careful to carry to the field with them. One young woman did not, like the others, leave her child at the end of the row, but had contrived a sort of rude knapsack, made of a piece of coarse linen cloth, in which she fastened her child, which was very young, upon her back—and in this way carried it all day, and performed her task at the hoe with the other people.

I pitied this woman; and as we were going home at night, I came near her, and spoke to her. Perceiving as soon as she spoke, that she had not been brought up amongst the slaves of this plantation—for her language was different from theirs—I asked her why she did not do as the other women did, and leave her child at the end of the row in the shade. ‘Indeed,’ said she, ‘I cannot leave my child in the weeds amongst the snakes. What would be my feelings if I should leave it there, and a scorpion were to bite it? Besides, my child cries so piteously when I leave it alone in the field, that I cannot bear to hear it. Poor thing! I wish we were both in the grave, where all sorrow is forgotten.’

I asked this woman, who did not appear to be more than twenty years old, how long she had been here, and where she came from. ‘I have been here,’ said she, ‘almost too years—and came from the Eastern Shore. I once lived as well as any lady in Maryland. I was born a slave in the family of a gentleman whose name was Le Compt. My master was a man of property—lived on his estate, and entertained much company. My mistress, who was very kind to me, made me her nurse, when I was about ten years old, and put me to live with her own children. I grew up amongst her daughters, not as their equal and companion, but as a favored and indulged servant. I was always well dressed, and received a portion of all the delicacies of their table. I wanted nothing, and had not the trouble of providing even for myself. I believe there was not a happier being in the world than I was. At present, none can be more wretched.

After giving an account of previous hardships and perils, and how she was finally kidnapped and carried off, she thus concludes her story:

‘When we commenced our journey for the South, we were about sixty in number. The men were chained together, but the women were all left quite at liberty. At the end of three weeks, we reached Savannah river, opposite the town of Augusta, where we were sold out by our owner. Our present master was there, and purchased me and another woman, who has been at work in the field to-day.

Soon after I was brought home, the overseer compelled me to be married to a man I did not like. He is a native of Africa, and still retains the manners and religion of his country. He has not been with us to-day, as he is sick, and under the care of the doctor. I must hasten home to get my supper, and go to rest—and glad I should be, if I were never to rise again.

I have several times been whipped unmercifully, because I was not strong enough to do as much work with the hoe as the other women who have lived all their lives on this plantation, and have been accustomed from their infancy to work in the field.

For a long time after I was brought here, I thought it would be impossible for me to live on the coarse and scanty food with which we are supplied. When I contrast my former happiness with my present misery, I pray for death to deliver me from my sufferings.'

The narrative gives an account of the death of this poor woman, which took place soon after the conversation above described.

Flogging.

Two slaves had been convicted and hanged for murder: the following punishment was dealt out to one who happened to be in the house at the time the murder was committed:

I had often seen black men whipped, and had always, when the lash was applied with great severity, heard the sufferer cry out and beg for mercy—but in this case, the pain inflicted by the double blows of the hickory was so intense, that Billy never uttered so much as a groan; and I do not believe he breathed for the space of two minutes after he received the first strokes. He shrank his body close to the trunk of the tree, around which his arms and legs were lashed, drew his shoulders up to his head, like a dying man, and trembled, or rather shivered, in all his members. The blood flowed from the commencement, and in a few minutes lay in small puddles at the root of the tree. I saw

flakes of flesh as long as my finger, fall out of the gashes in his back ; and I believe he was insensible during all the time that he was receiving the last two hundred lashes. When the whole five hundred lashes had been counted by the person appointed to perform this duty, the half dead body was unbound, and laid in the shade of the tree upon which I sat. The gentlemen who had done the whipping, eight or ten in number, being joined by their friends, then came under the tree, and drank punch until their dinner was made ready, under a booth of green boughs, at a short distance.

Cat-hauling.

A whole gang of slaves had been flogged to make one of them confess that he had stolen a hog. Finally, one was fixed upon as the culprit, and the following method taken for his punishment ;—

A boy was then ordered to get up, run to the house, and bring a cat, which was soon produced. The cat, which was a large gray tom-cat, was then taken by the well-dressed gentleman, and placed upon the bare back of the prostrate black man, near the shoulders, and forcibly dragged by the tail down the back, and along the bare thighs of the sufferer. The cat sunk his nails into the flesh, and tore off pieces of the skin with his teeth. The man roared with the pain of this punishment, and would have rolled along the ground, had he not have been held in his place by the force of four other slaves, each one of whom confined a hand or a foot. As soon as the cat was drawn from him, the man said he would tell who stole the hog, and confessed that he and several others, three of whom were then holding, had stolen the hog—killed, dressed, and eaten it. In return for this confession, the overseer said he should have another touch of the cat, which was again drawn along his back, not as before, from the head downwards, but from below the hips to the head. The man was then permitted to rise, and each of those who had been named by him as a participator in stealing the hog, was compelled to lie down, and have the cat twice drawn along his back—first downwards, and then upwards. After the termination of this punishment, each of the sufferers was

washed with salt-water by a black woman, and they were then all dismissed.

This was the most excruciating punishment that I ever saw inflicted on black people—and, in my opinion, it is very dangerous, for the claws of the cat are poisonous, and wounds made by them are very subject to inflammation.

Method of capturing runaways.

Occasionally, armed parties of whites go in pursuit of them, who make no secret of their determination to shoot down all that refuse to surrender—which they sometimes do. In one instance a negro who was closely pursued, instead of heeding the order to surrender, waded into a shallow pond beyond the reach of his pursuers; refusing still to yield, he was shot through the heart by one of the party. This occurred near Natchez; but no notice was taken of it by the civil authorities; but in this they were consistent, for the city patrols or night watch are allowed to do the same thing with impunity, though it is authorized by no law.

Another mode of capturing runaways is by blood-hounds; this I hope is rarely done. An instance was related to me in Clairborne Co., Miss. A runaway was heard about the house in the night. The hound was put upon his track, and in the morning was found watching the dead body of the negro. The dogs are trained to this service while young. A negro is directed to go into the woods, and secure himself upon a tree. When sufficient time has elapsed for doing this, the hound is put upon his track. The blacks also are compelled to worry them till they make them their implacable enemies; and it is common to meet with dogs, which will take no notice of whites, though entire strangers, but will suffer no black beside the house servants to enter the yard. Captured runaways are confined in jail till claimed by their masters. If they are not claimed within the time prescribed by law, they are sold at public sale, and in the mean time are employed as scavengers with a heavy ball and chain fastened to one of their ancles.—*New York Evangelist*, Jan. 31, 1835.

Separation of a Wife from her Husband and Children.

Sabbath, 29th July, I went to three places of worship, and heard most excellent preaching and fervent praying;

but, among all these ministers and members, no prayer was offered for the poor slaves. But all seemed to be as happy, as though the millennial day had ushered in.

Nothing had occurred up to this time to mar my happiness, or to make my visit unpleasant—and if I had left Philadelphia then, I should have entertained my family and friends, on my return home, by relating to them the beauty, the regularity, and the splendor of this great city. But, it was otherwise; and I have now to relate one of the most painful as well as most disgraceful transactions that my eyes ever witnessed, the thoughts of which make my blood chill and my heart sick.

On the first of August, as I was walking in Chesnut-street, near the Court House, I saw many people, both white and colored, going in. I inquired the cause, and was told that a person claimed as a fugitive was to be tried. I went in; but, the person claimed as *property* had been tried, and the judge was about to deliver his opinion. The house was filled—and all seemed to be waiting with the deepest anxiety. Soon the door opened, and the Sheriff entered, followed by a *female*, whose appearance was that of a *white* lady; she was in *delicate* circumstances—was leaning upon the arm of *her husband*; they advanced slowly, and with great anxiety upon their countenances, and took their seats, with their eyes fixed on the judge. All was silent as the grave.

The judge now commenced with the testimony, which was, that this woman came to this city about five years ago—that during this time she was married—that she was the mother of one male child, which was said to be *entirely white*, and was now about two years old. After going through all the testimony, he seemed to come to a pause. This was a moment of awful suspense to this innocent female, as she sat trembling and pale, supported by her husband. Soon the judge broke silence, by pronouncing her a *slave*. No sooner had the words fallen from his lips, “I must give a warrant to take you back,” than she screamed and fell on the floor—her cries might have been heard far off, “O, my child, my child; O, my dear, dear husband, *I cannot, cannot leave you!*” While her husband appeared to be trying to comfort her, and was attempting to raise her

up, with eyes streaming with grief, I heard a voice, saying, 'Take her to jail.' She was immediately surrounded by a number of officers, taken up, put into a close carriage, and hurried off, uttering the most heart-rending cries that ever fell upon my ears. I turned aside to give vent to my feelings in a flood of tears.—*Zion's Watchman of Sept. 2, 1837.*

But it would far transcend the proper limits of this little work to give a thousandth part of the facts which might be adduced under this head. The foregoing, however, are sufficient to show the reader what American slavery is in the concrete—the wrongs which millions of our countrymen are liable to be doomed to suffer every day, without any redress, or even the privilege of complaining.

CHAPTER XIII.

ARE THE SLAVES CONTENTED?

We are often told by persons from the South, how contented and happy the slaves are. It might be a sufficient reply to this to say, that those persons who make this assertion do not know what the slaves *think* about their condition.

In the winter of 1831-2, the Legislature of Virginia was engaged more than two weeks in discussing the question of slavery. We give a few extracts from that debate. Mr. Moore said, "they (the slaves) will *always* be disposed to avail themselves of a favorable opportunity of asserting their natural rights. * * * It may be safely assumed that, wherever the slaves are as numerous as the whites, it will require *one half of the effective force of the whites to keep them quiet*; such is the fact as to the whole of Eastern Virginia."

In another part of the same speech he said: "I lay it down as a maxim *not to be disputed*, that our slaves are now, and will ever be, actuated by the *desire of liberty*."

Mr. McDowell. "Sir, you may place the slave where you please—you may oppress him as you please—you may dry up to your uttermost the fountains of his feeling, the springs of his thought—and *the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all*. It is allied to his hope of immortality—it is the ethereal part of his nature which oppression cannot reach."

Mr. Preston. "My old friend from Halifax, (Mr. Bruce,) told us that the Virginia slave was happy and contented. Mr. Speaker, *this is impossible ; happiness is incompatible with slavery*. The love of liberty is the *ruling passion of man ; and he cannot be happy if deprived of it*."

Mr. Campbell. "The ever-abiding spark of liberty, silently, but surely exists in the bosom of even the most degraded, oppressed, and humble slave on earth."

Mr. Gholson, in describing the attempts to keep the slaves from gaining their liberty, said : "And think you, Sir, that this attempt will not be resisted? Just as sure as love of freedom and the immediate prospect of attaining it *will inflame the heart and inspire revolution—the love of freedom will be armed with desperation*."

Mr. Daniel. "The slaves cannot long remain ignorant of the sentiments which are thus publicly expressed, and it would indeed be strange if they did not *greedily* adopt expressions so favorable to *their* cause."

The preceding extracts are from speeches made in the Legislature of Virginia on the 16, 18, 19, 20, 23 and 26 of Jan., 1832, as reported in the Richmond Whig

The late Judge Tucker, of Va., professor of law in the University of William and Mary, published a letter to a member of the Va. Legislature in 1801, in which he says : "The love of freedom, Sir, is an inborn sentiment. At the *first favorable moment* it springs forth and defies all check. Whenever we are involved in war, if our enemies hold out the lure of FREEDOM, they will have, in EVERY NEGRO *a decided friend*."

Hon. B. W. Leigh, late Senator in Congress from Virginia, in a series of letters to the people of that state in 1832, speaking of the slaves, says : "The peculiar interest they *must* take in the subject we may be sure makes their hearing *very acute*. It is the most combustible matter that takes fire the soonest." p. 77.

Hon. P. P. Barber, of Virginia, now a Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court, said in a speech in Congress, in Feb. 1820, [see National Intelligencer of that date,] "Slavery, disguise it as you will, is still a *bitter draught*."

Governor Giles, in his address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1827, speaking of the number of crimes punished by sale into slavery, says: "*Slavery must be admitted to be a PUNISHMENT OF THE HIGHEST ORDER*; and according to every just rule for the apportionment of punishment to crime, it would seem that it *ought to be applied only to crimes of the highest order*." [Men are *punished* to the utmost, by inflicting "happiness" upon them!]

In 1787, every slaveholder in Congress voted for the following resolution: "There shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the territory north-west of the Ohio, otherwise than for the *punishment* of crimes."

Henry Clay, at a meeting of the American Colonization Society, January, 1818, said: "He has placed a false estimate upon liberty who believes that many [slaves] would refuse the boon even when coupled with *such a condition*." [Banishment to Liberia.]

Rev. J. D. Paxton, of Virginia, who had always lived in the midst of slaves, and held them, says in his "Letters on Slavery," p. 153: "The slaves, man, woman and child, are longing for freedom."

Patrick Henry, of Virginia, in his letter to Robert Pleasants, dated January 18, 1778, says: "Let us transmit to our descendants a pity for their (the slaves') *unhappy* lot." "Let us treat the *unhappy victims* with lenity."

Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, p. 71, says that the slave "entails his own MISERABLE condition on the endless generations proceeding from him." In his published Correspondence, he says: "When the measure of their TEARS is full—when their GROANS have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of Justice will awaken to their DISTRESS." [Contentment and happiness.]

Washington, in his letter to Robert Morris, April 12, 1786, says: "I hope it will not be conceived that it is my wish to hold these *unhappy* people in slavery."

McCall, in his History of Georgia, says: "This class of people [slaves] who *could not be supposed* to be CONTENTED

in slavery, and who would *grasp with avidity* at the most desperate attempts that promised freedom," &c.

In the Kentucky Convention of 1790, Mr. Rice called the slaves' condition a "*wretched situation*," '*a miserable state*;' said that he was consigned to a "bottomless gulf of wretchedness," and added, "The laws confine him in *misery*."

The editor of the Maryville (Tenn.) Intelligencer, in his paper of October 1835, speaking of slaves in the southwestern states, says, "their condition is second only to that OF THE WRETCHED CREATURES IN HELL." In a subsequent number the editor says! "We, of the South, are surrounded by a dangerous class of beings—who, if they could but once entertain the idea that immediate death would not be their portion, would react the St. Domingo tragedy. But a consciousness that a tenfold force would gather from *the four corners* of the United States, and *slaughter them*, KEEPS THEM IN SUBJECTION. But *to the non-slaveholding states*, we are indebted for a permanent safeguard against insurrection. Without their assistance, the white population of the southern states would be *too weak* to quiet that innate desire for liberty which is ever ready to act itself out."

The Minutes of the American Convention convened at Baltimore, October 25, 1826, contain a communication from two delegates to that body from N. C., Messrs. M. and W. Swain, in which, speaking of the slaves in the eastern part of that state, they say, "*Their situation is wretched beyond description*."

In the Convention that framed the Constitution of Virginia, in 1829, Mr. Campbell said: "In the year 1813, when all the militia east of the Blue Ridge were chiefly employed in patrolling the counties on the sea-board, and generally east of the Ridge, *to prevent insurrections among your own discontented population*."

CHAPTER XIV.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

We mean by this,

1. That the slave owner, so far as he is personally concerned, should *cease immediately* to hold or to use human beings as his *property*. And is there one slave owner in the nation who cannot do this? If there be one, then he must be set down as *non compos mentis*, or an idiot. Every intelligent being in the universe of God, can do right; and no man in the world can be compelled by law, or circumstances, to do wrong.

2. That the master, so far as he is personally concerned, should immediately offer to employ those whom he has held as his property, as free hired laborers; he should not turn them loose upon society, uncared for and unprotected, but he should treat them as men, and give them the liberty of choice, whether to remain in his employ at fair wages, or not.

3. So far as the State is concerned, it should annihilate the right of man to hold man as property; and all who are now slaves should be *immediately brought under the protection and restraint of suitable and impartial laws*. But the want of action on the part of any State government should not, and need not, hinder any one from doing his duty as above described, any more than the want of laws in Massachusetts should hinder any one from ceasing to manufacture and use intoxicating liquors. Laws will be enacted for the suppression of intem-

perance in each of the States, must as soon as the habits of the people and public opinion call for them; nor indeed would they be of much use, were they to be enacted before this; and just so with regard to slavery, when the habits of the people, and public opinion are sufficiently set against the sin of slaveholding, the States where slavery exists will commence legislation upon the subject.

CHAPTER XV.

EXPLANATION.

Emancipation from slavery does not confer the right of suffrage, but we contend that colored persons should be allowed its exercise, as soon as they possess the qualifications required of other citizens. They should also be aided and countenanced in their endeavors, by moral and intellectual culture, to become respectable and useful members of society.

We do not ask that they shall be harassed, and the country burdened by an oppressive and vexatious system of apprenticeship for grown men, as in Jamaica—but that they shall be employed as free laborers and paid equal and just wages, as in Bermuda and Antigua, where they are industrious and happy, and their employers safe and prosperous.

By the abolition of slavery we mean simply the repeal of the iniquitous slave code—the abolition of the unrighteous things wherein slavery consists—the restoration of men from the condition of ‘chattels’ to the condition of rational beings. If there are any reasons why this abolition should not take place *now*, they are reasons which will be equally valid, in all *future* time. And they are *reasons urged against the inalienable rights of man, and the immutable laws of God!*
—R. I. A. Slavery Convention.

CHAPTER XVI.

FACTS DEMONSTRATING THE SAFETY OF
IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL
EMANCIPATION.

To say that immediate emancipation is not safe, is to say that it is not safe for human beings to obey their Creator.

To deny the safety of immediate emancipation, is to doubt the first principles of common sense—the operations of moral cause and effect—and the testimony of universal experience and history. The writings of Clarkson and Stewart have triumphantly established this point, and the world has been challenged in vain to produce an instance of starvation or bloodshed, in consequence of emancipation.

To say that immediate emancipation is not *safe*, is to say that it is not safe for *human beings to be free!* It is to say, what the despots of all ages and nations have said and still say—that the *laboring classes of mankind* are incapable of self-government, and ought to be kept under the control of their superiors!—*R. I. A. Convention.*

St. Domingo.

A civil war broke out in this Island, in June, 1793, between the republicans and planters. The latter called in the aid of Great Britain; upon which the republicans proclaimed immediate freedom to about six hundred thousand slaves, and armed them against their foes. No evil consequence followed; every thing went on prosperously till eight years afterwards, when the French planters attempted to reduce the blacks again to slavery.

Guadaloupe.

In 1794, eighty-five thousand slaves were set free in this Island, where there was a population of only thirteen thousand whites. No disasters followed.

Republic of Colombia.

All the slaves who had fought for this republic were emancipated in 1821.

Slavery was abolished in Mexico in 1829. No insurrection followed as the consequence.

Cape Colony.

Thirty thousand Hottentots were emancipated here in 1823, with perfect safety.

British West Indies.

It would much exceed our limits to give a minute account of emancipation in each of these islands. On the 1st of August, 1834, the British Parliament emancipated eight hundred thousand slaves in the dependencies of that government. In each of the islands, except Antigua and Bermuda, a system of apprenticeship was adopted; but in these, thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty slaves were set instantly and unconditionally free, and not the slightest difficulty followed.

But the other islands abandoned the apprenticeship system on the first of August, 1838, when all the apprentices became *entirely* and unconditionally *free*, thus demonstrating to the civilized world, the duty and safety of immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation.

Testimony of twenty-four Wesleyan Missionaries.

Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Wesleyan Missionaries of the Antigua District, assembled at St. Johns, Antigua, Feb. 7, 1837.

1. That the emancipation of the slaves of the West Indies, while it was an act of undoubted justice to that oppressed people, has operated most favorably in furthering

the triumphs of the gospel, by removing one prolific source of unmerited suspicion of religious teachers, and thus opening a door to their more extensive labors and usefulness—by furnishing a greater portion of time for the service of the negro, and thus preventing the continuance of unavoidable Sabbath desecrations, in labor and neglect of the means of grace—and in its operations as a stimulus to proprietors and other influential gentlemen, to encourage religious education and the wide dissemination of the Scriptures, as an incentive to industry and good order.

2. That while the above statements are true with reference to all the islands, even where the system of apprenticeship prevails, they are especially applicable to Antigua, where the results of the great measure of *entire freedom*, so humanely and judiciously granted by the legislature, cannot be contemplated without the most devout thanksgivings to almighty God.

(Signed)

JAMES COX, *Chairman,*
And twenty-four others.

CHAPTER XVII.

FACTS DEMONSTRATING THE DANGER OF CONTINUED SLAVERY.

1712. Insurrection in New York.

1. In 1712, a plot was formed by a number of slaves in New York, to obtain their liberty by massacring the whites. They killed a number of persons, and eighteen of them were put to death for rebellion.

1720. Murder in South Carolina.

2. A Mr. Cottle, a negro boy, and a white woman were murdered in South Carolina, in 1720. Three slaves suffered death as the consequence.

1728. Insurrection in Savannah.

3. An insurrection in Savannah, Ga., in 1728 by the slaves. They were fired upon twice. Their design was to destroy all the whites in order to obtain their liberty.

1729. Insurrection in Antigua.

4. A plot was formed in 1729, by the slaves in Antigua, to destroy the whites. Three of the conspirators were taken and *burned alive*.

1730. Insurrection in Virginia.

5. An insurrection of the slaves occurred in Virginia, in 1730. Five counties were in arms with orders to kill all the blacks who refused to submit.

1730. Insurrection in South Carolina.

6. In August of the same year the slaves in South Carolina, conspired to destroy all the whites, in order to obtain their liberty.

1731. Murder on Shipboard.

7. In 1731, three of the crew of a Capt. Scott, of R. I. were murdered on board the ship in which they were returning from Guinea with a cargo of slaves.

1732. Murder on Shipboard.

8. The next year a Capt. Major of N. H., was murdered with the whole of his crew, by the slaves which he had on board.

1734. Insurrection in Pennsylvania.

9. In 1834, an insurrection broke out among the slaves in Burlington, Pa.

1735. Ship Dolphin blown up.

10. The ship Dolphin, of London, was blown up in 1735, by the slaves on board: the whole on board perished.

39. Three Insurrections in South Carolina.

11. Three bloody insurrections occurred in South Carolina, in the year 1739. In one of them which took place in September, twenty-five whites and thirty-four slaves were killed, and others *gibbeted alive*.

1740. Insurrection in South Carolina.

12. The next year another insurrection occurred in the same place, and twenty persons were killed.

1741. Dreadful insurrection in New York.

13. In 1741, a dreadful insurrection broke out among the slaves in the state of New York. Of the conspirators, thirteen were *burned alive*, eighteen hung, and eighty *colonized*, in the West Indies.

1747. Murders committed on shipboard.

14. In 1747, the Captain and all the crew, except two, of a slave ship belonging to R. Island, were murdered by the slaves on board. Their desire was freedom.

1754. Two women burned alive in South Carolina.

15. In June, 1754, two women were burnt alive in Charleston, S. C., for setting fire to a building. Their object was to obtain their freedom.

1755. Two men put to death in Massachusetts.

16. In September, 1755, two slaves were put to death in Cambridge, Mass., for poisoning their master, in order to get their freedom.

1761. Insurrection in Jamaica.

17. In October, 1761, an insurrection took place among the slaves in Jamaica. We have heard of no insurrection in that island since the slaves were *set free*.

1761. Insurrection in Bermuda.

18. The same year the slaves in Bermuda rebelled, and threatened to destroy all their masters. Two of the conspirators were put to death ; one was hanged and one *burnt alive*.

1761. Murders on shipboard.

19. Forty slaves were killed on board an enslaver, commanded by Capt. Nichols, of Boston, Mass., in 1761.

1791. Horrors of St. Domingo.

20. The horrors of St. Domingo are often referred to. But the great massacres, which make so frightful a picture in the history of this island, occurred in 1791 and '92, before the emancipation of the slaves had been even contemplated ; and these were caused by the planters and not by the slaves. The sudden emancipation of five hundred thousand slaves, in this island, put an end to the civil war which had been raging with dreadful fury for more than two years. "The Colony," says Lacroix, "marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor ; cultivation prospered ; and every day produced perceptible proof of its progress. The blacks were peaceable, the colony flourished, and no evil consequences followed emancipation, till eight years after when Bonaparte attempted to reduce the blacks again to a state of slavery." Then it was

that the scenes of carnage and bloodshed followed, on the account of which we are so frequently told to "look to St. Domingo ;" and this, too, when every person acquainted with its history knows that those scenes were caused by the cruel attempt to *reduce free men to a state of slavery*.

1822. Thirty-five persons put to death in S. C.

21. In July, 1822, thirty-five slaves were put to death in S. C. for an attempt to gain their liberty.

1825. A man burned alive in S. Carolina.

22. A negro slave named William, is stated in a S. C. paper to have been *burned alive* near Greenville, S. C., for the murder of a white man.—*Phil. Gaz.*, Aug. 1825.

23. In 1826, sixty slaves were put to death in Newbern, S. C., for the same cause.

1831. Insurrection at Southampton, Va.

24. The insurrection in Southampton county, Va., is remembered, probably by the most of my readers. It occurred in 1831, and was headed by Nat. Turner, a slave, and member of the Baptist church. Upwards of sixty-four persons lost their lives in that dreadful commotion.

The following was narrated by the Rev. M. B. Cox, late Missionary to Liberia, soon after the event occurred.

Immediately after the insurrection above named, a slaveholder went into the woods, in quest of some of the insurgents, accompanied by a faithful slave, who had been the means of saving his life in time of the massacre. When they had been some time in the woods, the slave handed his musket to his

master, informing him at the same time, that he could not live a slave any longer, and requested him either to set him free or shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun from the hands of the slave, levelled it at his breast, and shot the faithful negro through the heart.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE UNITED STATES A SLAVEHOLDING NATION.

Thousands of Americans now enslaved in the United States.

1. More than twenty thousand Americans are now held in slavery, by the laws of Congress, in the territories and District of Columbia.

On the 23d December, 1788, Maryland passed an act to cede to the Congress "any district in the State, not exceeding ten miles square, which the Congress may fix upon, and accept for the seat of government of the United States."

A similar act was passed by Virginia, on the 3d of December, 1789, in these words:—

And the same is hereby forever ceded to the Congress and Government of the United States, *in full and absolute right*, and EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION as well of *soil* as of persons residing or to reside thereon, pursuant to the *tenor* and EFFECT of the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution.

Accordingly, on the 16th of July, the year following, Congress accepted the cession of Maryland

and Virginia, and passed a law which ordained that the existing laws of those two States should remain in force "until Congress shall otherwise provide."

Hence, by that very act, Congress established slavery in the "ten miles square," because it not only refused to revoke those laws of Maryland and Virginia, by which slavery had been established there before, but it ordained that they should *remain* in force till Congress should repeal them. The following is an extract from one of these laws; it is true, it has been repealed in Maryland, but it "**REMAINS**" in full force in the District of Columbia to this day :—

Every sheriff that now hath, or hereafter shall have, committed into his custody, any runaway servants or slaves, after one month's notice given to the master or owner thereof, of their being in his custody, if living in this province, or two months' notice if living in any of the neighboring provinces, if such master or owner of such servants or slaves do not appear within the time limited as aforesaid, and pay or secure to be paid, all such imprisonment-fees due to such sheriff from the time of the commitment of such servants or slaves, and also such other charges as have accrued or become due to any person for taking up such runaway servants or slaves, such sheriff is hereby authorized and required (such time limited as aforesaid being expired) immediately to give public notice to all persons, by setting up up notices at the church and court-house doors of the county where such servant or slave is in custody; of the time and place for sale of such servants or slaves, by him to be appointed, not less than ten days after such time limited as aforesaid being expired, and at such time and place by him appointed, as aforesaid, *to proceed to sell and dispose of such servant or slave to the highest bidder*, and out of the money or tobacco which such servant or slave is sold for, *to pay himself* all such IMPRISONMENT FEES as are his just due, for the time he has kept such servant or slave in his custody, and also pay such other charges, fees or reward as has be-

come due to any person for taking up such runaway servant or slave, and after such payments made, if any residue shall remain of the money or tobacco such servant or slave was sold for, such sheriff shall only be accountable to the master or owner of such servant or slave for such residue or remainder as aforesaid and not otherwise.—*Laws of Maryland, Act of 1719, (May session,) chap. 2.*

And that this barbarous law is not a dead letter, there is abundant evidence to prove. In a memorial of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, signed by one thousand of the most respectable citizens of the District, and presented to Congress March 24, 1828, then referred to the Committee on the District, and on the motion of Mr. Hubbard of New Hampshire, February 9, 1835, ordered to be printed, the following statement is introduced :

A colored man, who states that he was entitled to freedom, was taken up as a runaway slave, and lodged in the jail of Washington City. He was advertised, but no one appearing to claim him, he was, according to law, put up at public auction for the payment of his jail fees, and SOLD as a SLAVE for LIFE. He was purchased by a slave-trader, who was not required to give security for his remaining in the District, and he was soon shipped at Alexandria for one of the southern states. An attempt was made by some benevolent individuals to have the sale postponed until his claim to freedom could be investigated ; but their efforts were unavailing ; and thus was a human being sold into PERPETUAL BONDAGE, at the capital of the freest government on earth, without even a pretence of trial, or an allegation of crime.

According to the testimony of Mr. Miner of Pennsylvania in Congress, in 1829, there were no less than five persons thus sold in the year 1826–7.

Special recognition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. Slavery in the District of Columbia has been

acknowledged, and its existence recognized there by *special* laws of the United States.

June 12, 1834, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives, giving the right to Edward Brooke, a resident of the District, to bring into it two slaves, and retain them as his property. This bill passed by a vote of 106 to 47.

Slavery perpetuated by the property of the United States.

3. The property of the United States Government is used to perpetuate slavery and the slave trade in this country. In 1826, Congress appropriated out of the public treasury \$5000 "for the purpose of altering and repairing the jail in the city of Washington," and \$10,000 to build "a county jail for the city and county of Alexandria."

For what purposes those prisons are used, the following notices will show:—

Notice.

Was committed to the prison of Washington Co., D. C., on the 19th day of May, 1834, as a runaway, a negro man who calls himself David Peck. He is 5 feet 8 inches high. Had on, when committed, a check shirt, linen pantaloons, and straw hat. He says he is free, and belongs to Baltimore. The *owner* or *owners* are hereby requested to come forward, prove him, and take him away, or *he will be sold for his prison and other expenses as the LAW DIRECTS.*

JAMES WILLIAMS,

Keeper of the Prison of Washington Co., D. C.

For ALEXANDER HUNTER, M. D. C.

The above is but a specimen. One keeper of the jail in Washington has stated that in five years, upwards of *four hundred and fifty* colored persons had been lodged there for safe keeping, i. e. until they could be disposed of in the course of the slave

trade ;—besides nearly three hundred, who had been taken up and lodged there as runaways.

Revenue received by the General Government from Slavery.

4. The Government of this nation may receive a constant revenue, for licenses granted to slave dealers in the District of Columbia.

“For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, *four hundred dollars* :”—The Register to “deposit all monies received from taxes imposed by this act to the credit of the Canal Fund.”—*City Laws*, p. 249. *Approved by Congress, July, 1831.*

Internal slave trade tolerated by Congress.

5. Congress has “power to regulate commerce between the states,” and consequently it has control of the domestic slave trade, which is consequently producing such an awful amount of misery, and yet it refuses to abolish this nefarious traffic.—*Constitution U. States*, Art. 1. Sec. 8.

Slavery is protected by the United States’ Army.

6. An officer of the United States’ army who was in the expedition from Fortress Monroe, against the Southampton slaves, in 1831, speaks with constant horror of the scenes which he was compelled to witness. Those troops, agreeably to their orders, which were to exterminate the negroes, killed all that they met with, although they encountered neither resistance, nor show of resistance ; and the first check given to this wide barbarous slaughter grew out of the fact, that the law of Virginia, which provides for the payment to the master of the full value of an executed slave, was considered as not applying to the cases of slaves put to death without trial. In consequence of numerous representations to this effect, sent to the officer of the United States’ army commanding the expedition, the massacre was suspended.—*Child’s Oration*.

In 1832, a company of U. S. troops were ordered to Newbern, N. C. to keep the slaves in awe, at the request of many ladies, made to the President.

**Free-born Americans reduced to slavery by the
United States' laws.**

7. Laws are now in force, enacted by Congress by which *free-born citizens* of this republic are reduced to slavery.

In 1820, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, empowered the corporation of the city of Washington "to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which free negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city." On this authority, in May 1827, that corporation enacted that "every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, who may come to the city of Washington to reside, shall within thirty days exhibit to the Mayor satisfactory evidence of his or her title to freedom to be recorded, and shall enter into bonds, with two freehold sureties, in the penalty of \$500, conditioned to his or her good conduct, that they will not become chargeable to the corporation for the space of twelve months"—the bond "to be renewed every year for THREE YEARS. On failure of this, he or she must depart the city or be committed to the workhouse not exceeding *twelve months* in *any* ONE imprisonment." "And all negroes found residing in the city after the passage of this act who shall not be able to establish their title to freedom (except such as may be hired) shall be committed to the jail, as absconding slaves."

By this law color is made a crime, which first robs citizens of their constitutional as well as inalienable rights, and is then taken as an evidence that they are slaves; and then to crown all, a large posse of officers, some of them in the pay of govern-

ment, are "charged" with the execution of the laws, and "forfeit and pay for every neglect or failure a fine not exceeding twenty dollars."—*City Laws*, p. 198.

The result is, that free citizens are often arrested, plunged into prison, and then sold for their jail fees as slaves for life.

This nation affords no protection to fugitive slaves.

8. Because no state in this Union affords protection to any slave who may escape to its limits, for defence against the cruel hand of the southern oppressor. In every one of the "free states," as they are called, fugitives from the "vilest slavery that ever saw the sun," are liable to be seized by any ruthless white monster, and without a trial by jury, or any trial at all, to be dragged off to the South, and reduced again to a state of interminable bondage.

Slave states admitted into the Union.

9. Congress has admitted six slave states into the Union, without imposing any restriction upon the subject of slavery.

Colored foreigners.

10. The laws of the federal government prohibit foreigners who are colored, from becoming naturalized citizens of the United States.

United States' Mail.

11. The laws of the federal government prohibit colored Americans from carrying the United States' Mail.

Militia.

12. The same laws prohibit colored Americans from being enrolled in the militia.

The entire nation responsible.

13. This nation must be considered a *slave-holding nation*, while Congress, composed of Senators and Representatives from all the States in the Union, possesses the power to abolish slavery in its capital, and refuses to exercise it.

The Congress shall have power to exercise *exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever*, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States.—*Constitution U. States*, Art. 1. Sec. 8.

The following remarks on this question were originally published in the New York Evening Post. They are from the pen of one who well understood the subject on which he was writing.

Slavery, as a legal system, is the creature of legislation. To *create* it, was to assert that both the *fact* and the *question* of its existence, are within the sphere of legislation. Of course legislation would not travel *out* of its sphere, in abolishing what is *within* it, and was recognized to be within it, by its own act. Cannot legislatures repeal their own laws? If law can take from a man his rights, it can give them back again. If it can say, "Your body belongs to your neighbor," it can say it belongs to *yourself*, and I maintain your right. If it can annul a man's right to himself, held by express grant from his Maker, and can create for another, an artificial title to him, can it not annul the artificial title, and leave the original owner to hold himself by his original title?

The abolition of slavery has always been within the *acknowledged* sphere of legislation. Almost every civilized nation has abolished slavery by law. The history of legislation, since the revival of letters, is a record crowded with

testimony to the universally admitted competency of the law making power to abolish slavery. It is so manifestly an attribute not merely of absolute sovereignty, but even of ordinary legislation that the competency of a legislature to exercise it may well nigh be reckoned among the law axioms of the civilized world. Even the night of the dark ages was not dark enough to make this invisible.

The abolition decree of the great council of England was passed in 1102. The memorable Irish decree, "that all the English slaves in the whole of Ireland, be immediately emancipated and restored to their former liberty," was issued in 1171. Slavery in England was abolished by a general charter of emancipation in 1381. Passing over many instances of the abolition of slavery by law, both during the middle ages and since the reformation, we find them multiplying as we approach our own times. In 1776, slavery was abolished in Prussia, by special edict. In St. Domingo, Cayenne, Guadaloupe, and Martinique 1794, where more than 600,000 slaves were emancipated by the French government—by the Congress of Chili, in 1821—in Java, 1811—in the southern provinces of Burmah, 1826—in Ceylon, 1815—in Buenos Ayres 1816—in St. Helena, 1819—in Colombia, 1821—in Cape Colony, 1823—in Peru, Guatamalia, and Montevideo, 1828—in Bolivia, 1826—in Malacca, 1825—in Jamaica, Barbados, Bermudas, Bahamas, the Mauritius, St. Christophers, Nevis, the Virgin-Islands, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincents, Grenada, Berbice, Tobago, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Honduras, Demarara, and the Cape of Good Hope, on the 1st of August, 1834. But waving details, suffice it to say that England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Prussia, and Germany, have all and often given their testimony to the competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery. In our own country, the Legislature of Pennsylvania framed an act of abolition in 1780—Connecticut, in 1784—Rhode Island, 1784—New York 1799—New Jersey, in 1804—Vermont, by Constitution, in 1777—Massachusetts, in 1780—and New Hampshire, in 1784.

When the competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery, has thus been recognized every where, and for ages; when it has been embodied in the highest precedents,

and celebrated in the thousand jubilees of regenerated liberty, is it, forsooth, an achievement of modern discovery, that such a power is a nullity?—that all the acts of abolition are void—and that the millions disenthralled by them, are, either themselves or their posterity, still legally in bondage?

The legislative power has abolished slavery in its parts. The law of South Carolina prohibits the working of slaves more than fifteen hours in the twenty-four. [See Brevard's Digest, 253.] In other words, it takes from the slaveholder his power over nine hours of the slave's time, daily; and if it can take nine hours it may take twenty-four. If two fifths, then five-fifths. The laws of Georgia prohibit the working of slaves on the first day of the week; and if they can do it for the first, they can for the six following. Laws embodying the same principle have existed for ages in nearly all governments that have tolerated slavery.

The law of North Carolina prohibits the "immoderate" correction of slaves. If it has power to do that, it can prohibit moderate correction—all correction, which would be virtual emancipation; for, take from the master the power to inflict pain, and he is master no longer. Cease to ply the slave with the stimulous of fear and he is free. Laws similar to this exist in slaveholding governments generally.

The law of Louisiana makes slaves real estate, prohibiting the holder, if he be also a *land*-holder, to separate them from the soil. If it has power to prohibit the sale *without* the soil, it can prohibit the sale *with* it; and if it can prohibit the *sale* as property, it can prohibit the *holding* as property. Similar laws exist in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies.

The law of Louisiana requires the master to give his slaves a certain amount of food and clothing, (Martin's Digest, 610.) If it can oblige the master to give the slave *one* thing, it can oblige him to give him another: if food and clothing, then wages, liberty, his own body. Such laws exist in most slaveholding governments.

By the slave laws of Connecticut, under which slaves are now held, (for even Connecticut is still a slave state,) slaves might receive and hold property, and prosecute suits in

their own name as plaintiffs. (This last was also the law of Virginia, in 1795. See Judge Tucker's "Dissertation on Slavery," p. 73.) There were also laws making legal marriage contracts, in certain contingencies, and punishing infringements of them. ("Reeves' law of Baron and Femme," pp. 340—1.) Each of the laws enumerated above does, *in principle*, abolish slavery, and all of them together abolish it *in fact*. True, not as a *whole*, and at a *stroke*, nor all in one place; but in its *parts*, by piecemeal, at divers times and places; thus showing that the abolition of slavery is within the boundary of *legislation*.

**The honor and good faith of this nation are pledged
upon this subject.**

14. This nation will be considered, by the civilized world, *a slaveholding nation*, while it refuses to redeem its pledge, made in the treaty of Ghent to do all in its power to "abolish entirely" the *traffic in slavery*.—See chap. xx. page 145.

The following facts may be valuable in estimating the guilt of America in continuing the slave trade after she became independent.

On the 20th of October, 1774, the delegates of 12 colonies being assembled in Congress in Philadelphia, to devise how they might "obtain redress of the grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America," approved and signed an agreement of "Non-Importation, Non-Consumption, and Non-Exportation," which they bound themselves and the people of the colonies which they represented, "under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country," to observe. In this solemn and extraordinary agreement, was the following remarkable clause :

2d Article. WE WILL NEITHER IMPORT NOR PURCHASE ANY SLAVE IMPORTED AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER NEXT, AFTER WHICH TIME WE WILL WHOLLY DISCONTINUE THE SLAVE TRADE, *and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.*

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMPACT.

WE are not unfrequently told, the people in the free states have no right to interfere with the question of slavery at the south, on account of "the Compact." But this objection concedes, that slavery is a *national* concern. The truth of the case, however, is, the Northern States, when they entered into the Confederacy, did it upon the supposition that slavery would soon be abolished, throughout the country. *Then* there was not a slaveholder who dared to breathe the prophecy or the wish that slavery should be permanent! The voice of the south was, to quote the words of Jefferson, "The way is preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, *for a total emancipation.*" This promise of emancipation was at the very foundation of the compact. Without it no compact would have been made.

In 1784 Virginia ceded the great Northwest Territory to the United States. A committee of Congress, of which Mr. Jefferson was chairman, proposed an ordinance for its government, excluding *slavery and involuntary servitude*, after the year

1800. The ordinance was not finally settled till July 13, 1787, when, with the concurrence not only of every state, but of every member of every state, except one, (Mr. Yates of New York,) it was passed as follows :

“There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.”

This was just two months and four days prior to the date of our present national constitution. It was in fact a proclamation of *immediate emancipation* to all the slaves east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. As such it has been held by the Supreme Courts of Mississippi and Louisiana. With this manifestation of the disposition of the south before them, the northern states expected, and had a right to expect, that slavery would soon cease to disgrace the country. In this full belief they ratified the constitution and became one with the south.

The following historical facts from the proceedings of the state conventions for ratifying the constitution, are quoted from a series of able articles before referred to in the New York Evening Post. They settle the question, and defy refutation :

“In the debates in the North Carolina Convention, Mr. Iredell, afterwards a Judge of the United States Supreme Court, said, ‘When the entire abolition of slavery takes place, it will be an event which must be pleasing to every generous mind and every friend of human nature.’ Mr. Galloway said, “I wish to see this abominable trade put an end to. I apprehend the clause (touching the slave trade) means to bring forward manumission.” Luther Martin, of Maryland, a member of the convention that formed the United States Constitution, said, “We ought to authorize the General Government to make such regulations as shall be thought most advantageous for gradual abolition of

slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves which are already in the States." Judge Wilson, of Pennsylvania, one of the framers of the Constitution, said, in the Pennsylvania convention of '87, *Deb. Pa. Con.* p. 303, 156: "I consider this (the clause relative to the slave trade) as laying the foundation for banishing slavery out of this country. It will produce the same kind of gradual change which was produced in Pennsylvania: the new states which are to be formed will be under the control of Congress in this particular, and slaves will never be introduced among them." It presents us with the pleasing prospect that the rights of mankind will be acknowledged and established throughout the Union. Yet the lapse of a few years, and Congress will have power to exterminate slavery within our borders." In the Virginia convention of '87, Mr. Mason, author of the Virginia Constitution, said, "The augmentation of slaves weakens the States, and such a trade is diabolical in itself, and disgraceful to mankind. As much as I value a union of all the States, I would not admit the Southern States, (i. e. South Carolina and Georgia) into the Union, unless they agree to a discontinuance of this disgraceful trade." Mr. Tyler opposed with great power the clause prohibiting the abolition of the slave trade till 1808, and said, "My earnest desire is, that it shall be handed down to posterity that I oppose this wicked clause." Mr. Johnson said, "The principle of emancipation has begun since the revolution. Let us do what we will, it will come round." [*Deb. Va. Con.* p. 463.] Patrick Henry, arguing the power of Congress under the United States Constitution to abolish slavery in the States, said, in the same convention, "Another thing will contribute to bring this event (the abolition of slavery) about. Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects; we deplore it with all the pity of humanity.—[*Deb. Va. Con.* p. 431.] In the Mass. Con. of '88, Judge Dawes said, "Although slavery is not smitten by an apoplexy, yet it has received a mortal wound, and will die of consumption."—[*Deb. Mass. Con.* p. 60.] General Heath said that "Slavery was confined to the States now existing, it could not be extended. By their ordinance, Congress had declared that the new States should be republican States, and have no slavery."—p. 117.

CHAPTER XX.

REASONS FOR DISCUSSING THE SUBJECT OF
SLAVERY AT THE NORTH.

1. Because it is *American* slavery.
2. Because the North contributes its share towards its support.
 - (1.) Its money in building prisons in the District of Columbia, where slaves are kept.
 - (2.) Its representatives and senators in Congress who virtually vote for its continuance.
 - (3.) Its portion of men, Christians and ministers of the gospel, who go to the south and become slaveholders.
3. We are obligated by the United States' laws to deliver up slaves who escape to us for refuge.
4. Because northern blood is liable to be spilt in case of insurrection at the South.
5. Because the slaveholding principle exists at the North, as really as at the South. The continuance of the system is justified here by Christians and ministers, on the same ground on which it is justified there, by the slaveholders themselves.
6. We discuss this subject at the North, because as long as slavery exists in this nation our own liberties are insecure. See the case of Dr. Crandall, a citizen of New York, who was incarcerated in Washington jail for eight months, merely on suspicion of his being an abolitionist. Other citizens from the North have, by simply venturing to the South, lost both their liberty and their lives.
7. Because it is our right and privilege to discuss

this question. The United States and the State in which we live, have guaranteed to us the freedom of speech, and of the press.

8. Because God has commanded his servants to open their mouths for such as cannot plead for themselves.

9. Because to neglect this subject would endanger the salvation of millions of souls, for whom Christ died.

10. Because slavery is a reproach to the nation which every lover of his country should be anxious to do away.

11. Because we should do, as we would be done by.

12. Because, without discussion, slavery will never be abolished, and it must be discussed here or no where, in the nation.

CHAPTER XXI.

AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The following items may serve as specimens to show the reader how Americans in this republic are bought and sold.

Specimen of a New Orlean's Advertisement.

When we ask emancipation for slaves like those described below, we are told, that they could not take care of themselves, and if emancipated, they would starve to death !

Valuable SERVANTS for sale at auction by Isaac L. M'Coy.

This day, Thursday, 27th inst., at 12 o'clock, at the Exchange Coffee House, will be sold 34 VALUABLE SERVANTS viz :

1. Harry, aged about 26 years ; a first rate cartman, axeman and sawyer ; has been accustomed to work in a saw-mill and wood yard ; has been about 8 years in the country, and understands the care and management of horses, and possesses an excellent character.

2. George, aged about 23 years ; has been about 8 years in the country ; is a good carter and axeman, and has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard and bakery.

3. Altimore, aged about 21 years ; a first rate sawyer and axeman ; accustomed to work in a wood-yard, has been 3 or 4 years in the country.

4. Barney, aged about 18 years ; a first rate negro, and handy at almost all kinds of work ; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about 4 years in the country.

5. Henry Buckner, aged about 29 years ; a good axeman, sawyer and field hand, accustomed to work in a wood yard, and has been about 6 years in the country.

6. Lewis, aged about 20 years ; a first rate hand in a wood-yard, an excellent butcher, a good field hand ; speaks French and English, and has been about ten years in the country.

7. Sam Crumo, aged about 22 years ; a first rate hand in a wood-yard ; a carter ; speaks French and English, and has been about twelve years in the country.

8. Little Ned, aged about 18 years ; a good hand for a wood-yard ; has been 1 year in the country.

9. Big Ned, aged about 22 years ; do.
do. do.

10. Ben, aged about 20 years ; do.
do. do.

11. Aaron, aged about 33 years ; a first rate hand for a wood-yard, in which he has been employed for many years ; is an excellent cartman ; has been about fifteen years in the country, and speaks both languages.

12. Dick Jackson, aged about 25 years ; a good axeman and sawyer, and an excellent hand for a wood-yard, to

which he is accustomed, and has been one year in the country.

13. Dick Morgan, aged about 39 years; a very honest, trusty servant; has acted as porter in a grocery store for several years, and has worked for several years in a rope walk and wood-yard; is an excellent axeman and sawyer; has been in the country since a child, and speaks French and English.

14. Dillard, aged about 31 years; a good cook, a good axeman and sawyer; has worked about four years in a wood-yard, and has been about four years in the country.

15. Charles Palmer, aged about 24 years; accustomed to work in a wood yard: is a good axeman, carter and field hand, and has been about four years in the country.

16. Daniel, aged about 18 years; a first rate house servant; is very trusty; a tolerable good cook; has been raised in the country; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.

17. Anthony, aged about 15 years; a first rate house servant; very trusty and active; a good sawyer; has been raised in the country, and possesses a first rate character.

18. Joseph, aged about 14 years; a first rate servant; handy at all kinds of work; has been accustomed to work in a wood-yard, and has been about two years in the country.

19. William, aged about 20 years; a good rough carpenter; a good coachman; has been five years in the country; speaks French and English, the title only guaranteed.

20. Ned, aged about 39 years; a good carpenter and ostler; has been about four years in the country, and is subject to rheumatism.

21. Robert, aged about 23 years; a rough blacksmith and carpenter; handy at all kinds of work; understands filing and setting saws, has been eight years in the country, speaks French and English; is a first rate servant, and possesses a first rate character in every respect.

22. Peter, aged about 35 years; is a first rate overseer, and has always been employed in that capacity; has been for five years in Opelousas, and about four years in New-Orleans, is very honest and trusty, and a first rate servant in every respect.

23. Diana, aged about 24 years; (wife of Peter) a first

rate house servant, washer, ironer and plaiter ; a good cook ; has been five years in the country ; speaks French and English, and possesses a first rate character.

24. Malinda, aged about 24 years ; a good house servant ; a tolerable good washer and ironer ; has been raised in the country ; and speaks both languages.

25. Chloe, aged about 18 years ; an excellent house servant ; was born in Mobile ; has been about one year in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.

26. Daphney, aged about 25 years ; a first rate cook, both in French and English style, and a good pastry cook ; was raised in Mississippi, has been seven years in New Orleans, and possesses an excellent character.

27. Catharine, aged about 27 years, a good field hand ; was raised in the country ; speaks French, Spanish and English ; title only guaranteed.

ALSO.

The following ORPHAN (! !) children, viz :

28. John, aged about 12 years.

29. James, aged about 11 years.

30. David, aged about 9 years.

31. Cyrus, aged about 9 years. They have been about 10 months in the country.

32. Yellow Alex, aged about 8 years.

33. Black Alex, aged about 8 years.

34. Abraham, aged about 5 years.

The slaves are all thoroughly acclimated, and, with the exceptions above stated, are all guaranteed against the diseases and vices prescribed by law.

Americans sold for the benefit of the Church, and to support the cause of Missions.

In the Charleston Courier of Feb. 12th, 1835, is the following :

FIELD NEGROES, by *Thomas Gadsden.*

On Tuesday the 17th instant, will be sold, at the North of the Exchange, at ten o'clock, a *prime gang of ten* NEGROES, accustomed to the culture of cotton and provisions, *belonging* to the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, in *Christ's Church Parish.*

* * * * * Feb. 6.

Again—In the *Emancipator* of May 6, 1834, is the following, copied from a Savannah paper :

Bryan Superior Court.

A bill having been filed for the distribution of the estate of the Testatrix, Ann Pray, and it appearing that among other legacies in her will, is the following, viz., a legacy of one fourth of *certain negro slaves to the American Board of Commissioners for Domestic* [Foreign it probably should have been] *Missions for the purpose of sending the gospel to the heathen*, and particularly to the Indians of this continent. It is on motion of the solicitors of the complainants ordered.

Extract from the minutes, Dec. 3d, 1832.

dec. 8—4m

JOHN SMITH, C. S. C. B. C.

Americans sold for the benefit of Dr. Furman's heirs.

We have already quoted the opinion of this Baptist Dr. on the subject of slavery, see page 64.

Notice.

On the first Monday of February next, will be put up at *public auction* before the *court house*, the *following property*, belonging to the estate of the late REV. DR. FURMAN, viz :—

A plantation or tract of land on and in the Wateree Swamp. A tract after the first quality of fine land, on the waters of Black River. A lot of land in the town of Camden. A LIBRARY of a miscellaneous character, CHIEFLY THEOLOGICAL.

27 NEGROES.

Some of them very prime. Two mules, one horse and old waggon.

Manner of carrying on this traffic.

Those who are transported down the Mississippi river, are stowed away on the decks of steamboats, males and females, old and young, usually chained, subject to the jeers and taunts of the passengers and navigators, and often, by bribes, or threats, or the lash, made subject to abominations not to be named. On the same deck, you may see horses and human beings, tenants of the same apartments, and

going to supply the same market. The *dumb* beasts, being less manageable, are allowed the first place, while the *human* are forced into spare corners and vacant places. My informant saw one trader, who was taking down to New Orleans one hundred horses, several sheep, and between fifty and sixty slaves. The sheep and slaves occupied the same deck. Many interesting and intelligent females were of the number. And if I were satisfied that the columns of a newspaper was the proper place to publish it, I could tell facts concerning the brutal treatment exercised towards these defenceless females while on the downward passage, which ought to kindle up the hot indignation of every mother, and daughter, and sister in the land.

The slaves are taken down in companies, varying in number from 20 to 500. Men of capital are engaged in the traffic. Go into the principal towns on the Mississippi river, and you will find these negro traders in the bar-rooms, boasting of their adroitness in driving human flesh, and describing the process by which they can '*tame down*' the spirit of a '*refractory*' negro. Remember, by '*refractory*' they mean to designate that spirit which some high-souled negro manifests, when he fully recognizes the fact that God's image is stamped upon him. There are many such negroes in slavery. Their bodies may faint under the infliction of accumulated wrongs, but their souls cannot be crushed. After visiting the bar-room, go into the outskirts of the town, and there you will find the slaves belonging to the drove, crowded into dilapidated huts,—some revelling—others apparently stupid—but others weeping over ties broken and hopes destroyed, with an agony intense, and to a free man, inconceivable. Many respectable planters in Louisiana have themselves gone into Maryland and Virginia, and purchased their slaves. They think it more profitable to do so. This shows that highly respectable men engage in this trade. But those who make it their regular employment, and thus receive the awfully significant title of '*soul drivers*,' are usually brutal, ignorant, debauched men. And it is *such* men, who exercise despotic control over thousands of down-trodden, and defenceless men and women.

The slaves which pass down to the southern market on the Mississippi river and through the interior, are mostly purchased in Kentucky and Virginia. Some are bought in

Tennessee. In the emigration they suffer great hardships. Those who are driven down by land, travel from two hundred to a thousand miles on foot, through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi. They sometimes carry heavy chains the whole distance. These chains are very massive. They extend from the hands to the feet, being fastened to the wrists and ankles by an iron ring round each. When chained, every slave carries two chains,—i. e. one from each hand to each foot. A wagon in which rides 'the driver,' carrying coarse provisions, and a few tent coverings, generally accompanies the drove. Men, women and children, some of the latter very young, walk near the wagon; and if, through fatigue or sickness, they falter, the application of the whip reminds them that they are slaves. They encamp out nights. Their bed consists of a small blanket. Even this is frequently denied them. A rude tent covers them, scarcely sufficient to keep off the dew or frost, much less the rain. They frequently remain in this situation several weeks, in the neighbourhood of some slave-trading village. The slaves are subject while on their journeys, to severe sickness. On such occasions the drivers manifest much anxiety lest they should lose *their property*! But even sickness does not prevent them from hurrying their victims on to market. Sick, faint, or weary, the slave knows no rest. In the Choctaw nation, my informant met a large company of these miserable beings, following a wagon at some distance. From their appearance, being mostly females and children, and hence not so marketable, he supposed they must belong to some planter who was emigrating southward. He inquired if this was so, and if their master was taking them home. A woman, in tones of mellowed despair, answered him:—'Oh, no, sir, we are not going *home*! We don't know where we are going. *The speculators have got us!*'

—H. B. Stanton.

Prices for which Americans are sold.

The other day I attended a *sale of slaves* in the exchange.

In one accustomed to such scenes, it excited no enviable feelings. The first spontaneous emotion of my heart was, that God never made men and women to be sold like beasts or bales of cotton, and to be separated from each other, and

from their children, as I saw them separated. And yet a Presbyterian minister not long since in a sermon preached before synod, asserted and attempted to prove from the Bible that '*slavery is no sin.*'

There were 33 in the lot to be sold. As a specimen, I sub-join the prices of a few.

Willis, 18 years old, brought	\$1400
Jack, 29,	1200
Adams, 20,	1300
Tom, 16,	1175
Dick, 30,	1000
Bill, 14,	660
Malinda, 29,	500

Cincinnati Journal.

The following conversation between two planters, one from North Carolina, and the other from Mississippi, recently occurred on board one of our splendid North River Steamboats. It was given to us in writing, by a respectable citizen of Poughkeepsie, who heard it.

Mississippian. What is a young negro boy worth in North Carolina?

Carolinian. They fetch a great price there.

M. Are slaves scarce there at present?

C. They are scarce and high. Those that have slaves are out of debt, and of course able to hold them, or get their price.

M. What is a negro man worth?

C. I purchased one a short time since for \$750.

M. And what are women with children worth?

C. They are much higher in proportion to other slaves.

M. Well, what would a good likely negro boy bring?

C. Under fifty [pounds] they fetch NINE DOLLARS PER POUND, that is the common price!—*An. S. Record.*

The Slave Market of America.

The following advertisements will show why the capital of this nation has been called "the slave market of America."

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES.

We will give cash for two hundred likely young negroes, of both sexes, families included. Persons wishing to dispose of their slaves, will do well to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchasers who are now, or may hereafter come into this market. We can at all times be found at our residence on 7th street, immediately South of the Centre Market House, Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH W. NEAL & Co.

September 13, 1834.

One of the private prisons in Washington used for keeping slaves, is owned by W. Robey, who is also engaged in the trade. In May, 1834, a gentleman visited it, and fell into conversation with the overseer of the pen. He heard the clanking of chains within the pen. "O," said the overseer—himself a slave, "I have seen *fifty* or *seventy* slaves taken out of the pen, and the males chained together in pairs, and drove off to the South—and how they would cry, and groan, and take on, and wring their hands, but the driver would put on the whip, and tell them to shut up—so they would go off, and bear it as well as they could."

Franklin and Armfield alone shipped to New Orleans during the year 1835, according to their own statement, not less than, 1000 slaves. They own brigs of about 160 to 200 tons burthen, running regularly every thirty days, during the trading season to New Orleans, and carrying about one slave to the ton.

Mr. Miner makes the following statement in regard to the jail in Washington :

By papers furnished me by the keeper, it appears that there were sent to prison for safe keeping, that is, as is well understood, for sale, and imprisoned as runaways.

	<i>Safe keeping.</i>	<i>Taken up as runaways.</i>
In 1824,	81	52
1825,	124	58
1826 & 1827,	156	101
1828,	91	79
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	452	290

Debtors and persons charged with criminal offences, of course, are not included in this statement, so that it would appear, in the last five years, more than four hundred and fifty persons had been confined in the public prison of the city—a prison under the control of Congress, and regulated by its laws—for sale in the process of the slave trade. Such, said Mr. M., is not the intention for which the prison was erected. Pennsylvania, so far as she is concerned, and her means are appropriated to repair and keep up the prison, I am confident in saying, does not and never has intended that it should be used for this purpose.

Facilities for carrying on the trade in human flesh.

Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places of deposit are strongly built, and well supplied with iron thumb screws and gags, and ornamented with cowskins and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws of the States permit the traffic, and it is suffered.—Nile's Register, vol. 35, p. 4.

The schooner *Fell's Point*, Capt. Staggs, has been seized at New Orleans for smuggling slaves into New Orleans from the West Indies, and the Captain, supercargo and crew, were cast into prison for trial. The supercargo is said to be an old offender, and possibly now is about to meet with some reward for his *black crimes*.—*Nile's Register*, Aug. 27, 1825.

In a very late work entitled “Transatlantic Sketches, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America and the West Indies, with notes on Negro Slavery and Canadian Emigration, by Capt. J. E. Alexander, of the British Army, London, 1833,” we find the following passage :

The most remarkable circumstances connected with slavery in America is the following. A planter in Louisiana, of forty years standing, assured me that there are a set of miscreants in the city of New Orleans, who are connected with the slave traders of Cuba, and who at certain periods proceed up the Mississippi as far as the Fourche mouth,

which they descend in large row boats, and meet off the coast slave ships. These they relieve of their cargoes, and returning to the main stream of the Mississippi, they drop down it in covered flat bottomed boats or arks, and dispose of the negroes to those who want them.—Vol. 2. p. 26.

Sale of Americans at auction.

During my sojourn in the capital of Virginia, (United States,) I was a witness, for the first time in my life, of a scene as degrading to human nature, as productive of horror and disgust to the friends of humanity. The following advertisement having been inserted for several days successively in the newspapers :

Monday next, at 9 A. M. at public sale, the slaves whose names follow, all negroes of the first quality, namely : “Betsy, a negro woman, twenty-three years of age, with her child Cæsar, three years old ; an excellent cook, washer, and ironer ; warranted healthy. Julia, a mulatto girl aged thirteen, robust and active, a good field laborer ; with the exception of a slight defect in the left eye, she is without fault. Augustus, a negro lad, six years of age, qualified to become an excellent domestic ; without defect. The aforesaid slaves will be sold without reserve to the highest bidder, and the purchaser will be able to obtain credit for two or even four months, upon good security.”

I was anxious to be present at such a strange commercial transaction, and I was there punctually. In the midst of various articles exposed for sale, such as pots, pans, beds, chairs, books, &c. &c., were seated the unhappy slaves, all crowded together, and all, as one would imagine, appropriately clothed. The poor mother with her child in her arms was the first object that drew my attention. The auctioneer had placed her in such a manner, that she and her infant should be the first object seen by those who entered the market. The customers, as they entered, cast their eyes upon the group so worthy of pity, to satisfy their curiosity, and examined them as if they were gazing at some chef d'œuvre produced by the chisel of Canova. I could not help shuddering with indignation, in considering the indifference and gross rudeness with which these insensible men treat their slaves. Betsy was the only one who appeared to feel all the rigors of her situa-

tion ; her eyes remained constantly fixed upon her infant, and if she raised them for a moment, it was to obey the order of a purchaser, who wished probably, to assure himself that they were strong enough to support labor by day and by night ; but she had scarcely yielded to his injunction, ere they fell again upon the miserable infant which reposed on her bosom ; she even replied to all their questions without raising her eyes to the person by whom she was addressed.

It was not the same however with the other slaves ; they smiled at every jest, and their large white eyes, like brilliants fastened to their foreheads, sparkled with joy at the gay conversation and at the witty remarks—of the gentlemen who had come hither with the intention of purchasing human beings at a fair price. But the moment of the sale approaching, and several persons were assembled in the hall, the crier invited them to come out, and upon a table placed before the door in the middle of the street, was exposed one of the slaves, who were for sale.

Betsy and her child had the honor of figuring first. The crier stood upon a chair placed near. I discovered in the crowd a dozen negroes at least, who passing at the time, were drawn by curiosity to approach, and appeared to follow with attention the progress of the sale ; I could not forbear sympathizing with the unhappy beings, in reading upon their countenances the interest with which their companions in misery inspired them. “Let us proceed, gentlemen,” cried the seller of human flesh in a stentorian voice ;—“let us proceed, a woman for sale !”

“An excellent woman ; not a fault ! and a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child—250 dollars ; very well, sir, \$250 to begin. Some one has bid \$250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price ; \$250 ? look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say \$260 ; Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid \$260. It seems to me that I heard \$275 ;—go on, gentlemen ; I have never sold such a bargain. How ! \$280 for the best cook, the best washer and the best dressmaker in Virginia ? Must I sell her for the miserable price of \$280 ? \$300 ; two gentlemen have said \$300. Very well, gentlemen ; I am happy to see you begin to warm a little ; some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340, going—upon my honor, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook ; a

great bargain for \$340. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain."

Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me, from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and sang froid of an assassin, made to him the following observation; "As for the negro child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nourishment, and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it at a cheap bargain."

I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms, fixed his large eyes on her, as if saying, "mamma, why do you weep?" Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an impression that seemed to ask, what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly. No never will this moment ever escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier, striking a heavy blow with a hammer, pronounced the award to Mr. — for \$360. The victim descended from the table and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at \$326, and Augustus at \$105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot.—*Travels of Arforesun.*

Extent of this Traffic.

According to New Orleans papers, there were imported into that port, during the week commencing on the 16th ult., from various ports in the United States, 371 slaves, principally from Virginia.—*Niles' Register*, Oct. 22, 1831.

Supposing the above to be an average number, it would follow that the Domestic maritime Slave Trade supplies New Orleans with no less than twenty thousand slaves every year, *three times the annual importation from abroad into the United States, when the foreign trade was most brisk.*

If to this number we add ten thousand for those landed in other states and territories, without touching at New Or-

leans, and twenty thousand for the inland trade, it will make a total of fifty thousand men, bought and sold like swine in this professedly Christian nation, every year.

It is stated in the Natchez Courier, that during the year 1836, no less than two *hundred and fifty thousand* slaves were carried into Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Well hath the Great and Just ONE, said, "shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?"

The following remarks are from the speech of Hon. W. Slade, which he was prevented by northern votes from delivering, on the floor of Congress, in Dec. 1837.

I have, Mr. Speaker, spoken of the open and unblushing prosecution of this trade. Why, sir, look into the newspapers of this city. Yes, into the *newspapers*. The evidence is found even in the very papers which are laid every morning on our tables. Take up, for example, one of these papers of yesterday, and you will find no less than five advertisements by slave merchants in this District, (four of them in this very city,) offering "cash for negroes." Take the following as a specimen of the whole.

"CASH FOR NEGROES.—I will give cash, and liberal prices, for any number of young and likely negroes, from eight to forty years of age. Persons having negroes to dispose of, will find it to their advantage to give me a call, at my residence, on the corner of Seventh street and Maryland Avenue, and opposite Mr. William H. William's private jail. All letters addressed to me, Washington City, shall have immediate attention.

"WILLIAM H. RICHARDS."

"*Any number* of young and likely negroes, from *eight* (!) to forty years of age!" "Cash, and liberal prices!" And all to supply slave factories—not on the coast of Africa, but in the City of Washington—the capital of the United States of America!

And how are these slave factories supplied? How are these "*private* jails!" filled? By agents, moving about in the surrounding country, like New England or Pennsylvania drovers, in search of cattle. When the price of slaves is high in the southern market, the trade is active, and large

numbers are purchased. They are brought into this city, sometimes marching in double files, connected by chains passing through hand-cuffs, or collars, and sometimes crowded into large wagons, like sheep for the slaughter. I have witnessed both modes of transportation. In this manner, they are driven through the streets of this city, and by the very doors of this Capitol, to be deposited in the "private jails" prepared for their reception. It was but last winter, that one of these very exhibitions were presented to the wondering gaze of the members of the Twenty-fourth Congress, as they were leaving this Capitol, upon an adjournment of the house.

The slaves collected in the manner thus described, are sent to the southern market, either over land, or by transportation coastwise. The number thus purchased and disposed of annually, I have no means of stating. The custom-house returns would show the number *shipped*; but there are no means of ascertaining the probably larger number otherwise sent from the District.

Do you, Mr. Speaker, want further evidence of the extent and character of this trade? I have it at hand, in a memorial of more than eleven hundred citizens of this District, presented to Congress in 1828, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade here. In that memorial, the trade is thus described:

While the laws of the United States denounce the foreign slave trade as piracy, and punish with death those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the national government, a domestic slave trade scarcely less disgraceful in its character, and even more demoralizing in its influence. For this is not, like the former, carried on against a barbarous nation; its victims are reared up among the people of this country, educated in the precepts of the same religion, and imbued with similar domestic attachments.

These people are, without their consent, torn from their homes; husband and wife are frequently separated and sold into distant parts; children are taken from their parents, without regard to the ties of nature; and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken forever.

Nor is this traffic confined to those who are legally slaves

for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and many who have a limited time to serve, are sold into unconditional slavery; and, owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of the District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release.

We behold these scenes continually taking place among us, and lament our inability to prevent them. The people of this District have, within themselves, no means of legislative redress; and we therefore appeal to your honorable body, as the only one invested by the American Constitution with the power to relieve us."

Here, Mr. Speaker, is a description of the trade, which fully sustains all I have said in regard to it; for it is notorious that its extent and enormities are not less now, than when they drew from those who were familiar with them, the description I have read, with their earnest prayer, that Congress would interpose and relieve them from the "disgraceful" and "demoralizing" traffic.

Two years after the presentation of this memorial, namely, on the 15th of January, 1830, the grand jury of the county of Washington, by their foreman, Thomas Carberry, Esq., addressed a letter to the chairman of the committee for the District of Columbia, in which he said—"the District is made a market for the purchase and sale of great numbers of slaves, annually brought here for that purpose. These wretched beings are frequently seen passing through our streets, like droves of cattle, to houses of deposit, set up and maintained for that purpose. The inhuman practice is so shocking to the moral sense of the community, as to call loudly for the interposition of Congress."

Mr. Speaker: I have asked for a committee to investigate this subject. But I submit whether there is not *before us*, sufficient evidence to warrant and demand our immediate action. Sir, we ought to pass a bill forthwith, by acclamation, banishing this traffic forever from our jurisdiction. Humanity, justice, national character, consistency, all unite in demanding it.

I say *consistency* demands it. Why, sir, what have we done? Let me examine a moment.

We, in the first place, authorized by our constitution the abolition of the foreign slave trade after the year 1808.

In 1794, we prohibited the fitting out from the ports of the United States, of vessels for the slave trade between foreign countries.

In 1800, we prohibited the holding of any right in vessels so fitted out, or serving on board the same ; and authorized their seizure by the ships of war of the United States.

In 1807, we prohibited, after the 1st of January 1808, the building or fitting out any vessel for the importation of slaves—enacted her entire forfeiture, and imposed a penalty on each person concerned in such fitting out, of \$200,000.

In 1818, we enacted numerous additional provisions against the slave trade, and against all engaged therein.

In 1819, we authorized the cruising of our armed vessels for the suppression of the trade ; and

In 1820, we declared it to be PIRACY, punishable with DEATH.

We also prohibited the importation of slaves into the *territories*, namely—of Mississippi, in 1798 ; of Orleans in 1804 ; and of Florida, in 1822—enacting, in each case, that *the slaves imported should be thenceforth free.*

CHAPTER XXII.

ABOLITIONISTS.

Their Principles.

1st. We hold that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in the southern states.

2d. We hold that slavery can only be lawfully abolished by the legislatures of the several states in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any other than moral influence to induce such abolition, is unconstitutional.

3d. We believe that Congress has the same right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that the state governments have within their respective jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the constitutions, laws and institutions of any and every state and nation under Heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press or of conscience—blessings we have inherited from our fathers and which we intend as far as we are able to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no insurrectionary movement on their part, would receive from us the slightest aid or countenance.

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would attend it, and on account of the occasion which it might furnish of increased severity and oppression.

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the South. If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false.

8th. We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrections. Both the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves, and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave states to distribute our publications. We have never had one such agent. We have sent no *packages* of our papers to any persons in those States for distribution, except to five respectable resident citizens, at their own request. But we have sent, by mail, single papers addressed to public officers, editors of newspapers, clergymen and others. If, therefore, our object is to excite the slaves to insurrection, the MASTERS are our agents!

10th. We believe slavery to be sinful, injurious to this and every other country in which it prevails; we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of every slaveholder, and that the immediate abolition of slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be safe and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens who hold slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the poor is required by duty, and by a regard for the permanency of our republican institutions. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, even in the free states, sunk in abject poverty, and who on account of their complexion, are virtually *kept* in ignorance, and whose instruction in certain cases is actually prohibited by law! We are anxious to protect the rights and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a design to encourage inter-marriage between the whites and blacks. This charge has been repeatedly, and is again denied, while we repeat that the tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever slavery exists.

12th. We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve it. We have never "calculated the value of the Union," because we believe it to be inestimable; and that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution; and one of the many reasons why we cherish and will endeavor to preserve the Constitution is, that it restrains Congress from making any law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

Such, fellow-citizens, are our principles.—Are they unworthy of republicans and of Christians?—*Ex. Com. of the A. An. Slavery Society, New York, Sept. 5, 1835.*

Objects.

The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its

abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country, which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.—*Constitution of the A. A. Slavery Society, Art. ii.*

This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.—*Ib. Art. iii.*

Measures.

1. To treat *all* men as *men*,—as immortal beings made in the image of the glorious God.
2. To pray for the enslavers and the enslaved.
3. To obtain and spread light upon the sin and evils of American slavery, by open, free, Christian-like discussion—by speaking the truth in love for all persons, and on all occasions.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following are all those parts of the Constitution of the United States, which have been supposed, in any way, to relate to the subject of slavery, or which can be consistently brought to bear upon it.

ART. I., Sec. 2. *Third clause*.—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which* may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons*.

Sec. 8. Among the enumerated powers of Congress is the following, which gives it full authority to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, viz :

The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States.

A similar power also extends to the territories, as appears from Art. IV., Sec. 3.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States, &c.

Art. IV. Sec. 2. *Third clause*.—No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

The case of a fugitive from slavery in the United States differs, from a fugitive from justice, in this respect : that the latter is to be delivered up “on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, to be removed to the state *having jurisdiction of the crime* ;”—there he is to be *tried*, on principles of law and evidence common to all the states. But a person may be claimed as a fugitive slave, no trial *whatever*, after removal, being contemplated, or possible. It is therefore, evident that the states cannot protect their *own citizens*, unless the claimants of fugitive slaves are compelled to substantiate their claims before a *jury* by due process of law. But Congress has thought fit to legislate on this subject, and to yield to the claimant any person he may please to arrest as property, provided *proof* be made to the *satisfaction of any magistrate whom the claimant may select*. The law is as follows :

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states or territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon *proof* to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit, taken before and certified by a *magistrate* of any such state or territory, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such

judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which shall be a sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory from which he or she fled.

Now compare this Act of Congress with Art. xii, of the Constitution, (*Amendments*) which reads thus :

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right¹ of trial by jury shall be preserved ; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

From this it is perfectly clear, that the foregoing Act is not only *unconstitutional*, but directly subversive of the state rights.

The following clause in the Constitution empowers Congress to abolish the internal slave trade :

Congress shall have power—to regulate commerce among the several states.—*Art. I. Sec. 8.*

Were the slave trade abolished which is now carried on between the different states, slavery would not continue in this nation but a short time. See next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

UNITED STATES LAWS AGAINST THE SLAVE
TRADE.

Foreign slave trade.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any citizen, or vessel owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of any citizen of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall *receive such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or person whatever, being of the crews or ship's company of any ship or vessel*, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States, for the district wherein he may be brought or found, shall suffer DEATH.—*Approved, May 15, 1820.*

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company, of any ship or vessel, owned wholly or in part, or navigated for, or in behalf of any citizen or citizens, of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall, on board any such ship or vessel offer or attempt to sell, as a slave, any negro or mulatto not held to service as aforesaid, or shall, on the the high seas, or any where on tide water, transfer to deliver over to any other ship or vessel, any negro or mulatto, not held to service as aforesaid, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall land, or deliver on shore, from on board any such ship or vessel, any such negro or mulatto, with intent to make sale of, or having previously sold, such negro or mu-

latto, as a slave, such citizen, or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States for the district wherein he shall be brought, or found, shall suffer DEATH.—*Approved May 15, 1820.*

American slave trade.

From the following extracts it will be seen, that the domestic slave trade, also now carried on in this nation, is most explicitly condemned by the law of these United States.

Whereas, the *traffic in slaves* is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas, both His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its ENTIRE ABOLITION, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties *shall use their best endeavors* to accomplish so desirable an object.—*Treaty of peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814, Art. x.*

This treaty shall be binding to both parties.—*Ib. Art. xi.*

Now compare the above with the following :—

All *treaties* made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND; and the judges in *every state* shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the *contrary notwithstanding*.—*Constitution of the United States, Art. vi.*

Hence it appears that the “supreme law” of the land is opposed to the “traffic in slaves,” and the *good faith* of the United States is PLEDGED to promote its “*entire abolition*.”

CHAPTER XXV.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS.

The following extracts from the United States' Constitution, and from the Bills of Rights and Constitutions of the several states, will show how high an estimate was once put upon the freedom of speech and of the press, by the fathers of our country.

Congress.

Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or *abridging the freedom of speech or of the press*; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.—*Constitution U. S. Art. iii. Amendments.*

Maine.

Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty. No laws shall be passed regulating or restraining the freedom of the press.

Massachusetts.

The liberty of the press is essential to security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth.

New Hampshire.

The *liberty of the press* is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved.

Vermont.

The people have a right to a freedom of speech,

and of writing and publishing their sentiments concerning the transactions of government, and therefore the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained.

Connecticut.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

New York.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions, or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury, that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted, and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

Pennsylvania.

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the Legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print; on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Delaware.

The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public capacity ; and any citizen may print on any such subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Maryland.

The liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved.

Virginia.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

North Carolina.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and therefore ought never to be restrained.

South Carolina.

The trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, and the liberty of the press, shall be for ever inviolably preserved.

Georgia.

Freedom of the press, and trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, shall remain inviolate ; and no ex post facto law shall be passed.

Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Louisiana, and Illinois.

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government ; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof.

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Ohio.

The printing presses shall be open and free to every citizen who wishes to examine the proceedings of any branch of government, or the conduct of any public officer; and no law shall ever restrain the right thereof. Every citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write, or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty.

Mississippi.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiment on all subjects, being responsible for the use of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

Alabama.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Missouri.

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every person may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TESTIMONY OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD
AGAINST SLAVERY.

When it is considered that the persons, from whom the following testimonies are quoted, are among the wisest and best of men that have ever lived, among all the civilized nations upon the face of the globe, we think they may justly be considered as a fair sample of the sentiments of the civilized world upon this subject.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.—[*Declaration of American Independence*, 1776.]

No longer shall the United States of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades their bowels; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than painted sepulchres, containing within them rottenness and corruption.—[*Othello, Baltimore Advertiser*, 1788.]

Everything that is miserable, horrible, and odious, is comprised in this abominable [slave] system. The slavery practiced in America is not only abominably unjust, inconsistent, and ridiculous, but it is a disgrace to human nature. There never yet was an instance, in which all the rights of human nature were more flagrantly violated than in the case of American slavery. Perfect liberty and equality with the whites is this day the inalienable right of every negro in America.—[*Amynto, New York*, 1796.]

Let who will startle or laugh, I steadfastly maintain that we must bring them [negroes] to an equal standing, in point of privileges, with the whites! They must enjoy all the rights belonging to human nature.—[*Fiske, tutor in Dartmouth College*, 1795.]

African slavery is unjust in its nature, impolitic in its prin-

ciples, and in its consequences ruinous to the industry and enterprise of the citizens of these States.—[*Memorial of the Connecticut State Society for the Promotion of Freedom, &c., praying for Congress to abolish the slave-trade, and signed by* EZRA STILES, (President of Yale College) *President, and* SIMEON BALDWIN, *Secretary, 1791.*]

Slavery is, in every instance, wrong, unrighteous, and oppressive, a very great and crying sin, there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth.—[*Samuel Hopkins, 1776.*]

It will not do thus to talk like philosophers, and act like unrelenting tyrants; to be perpetually sermonizing it, with liberty for our text, and actual oppression for our commentary.—[*Wm. Pinckney, in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.*]

Domestic slavery is repugnant to the principles of Christianity. It prostrates every benevolent and just principle, of action in the human heart. It is rebellion against the authority of a common Father. It is a practical denial of the extent and efficacy of the death of a common Savior. It is an usurpation of the prerogative of the great sovereign of the universe, who has solemnly claimed exclusive property in the the souls of men.—*Benjamin Rush, 1794.*

I tremble for my country, when I recollect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a struggle.—[*Jefferson, 1782.*]

I thought it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty, not only of the slave-trade, but of slavery itself, in whatever form it is found; and likewise to assert that no authority on earth can ever render such enormous iniquities legal.—[*Grenville Sharp, as early as 1787.*]

Those are men-stealers who abduct, keep, sell, or buy slaves or freemen. To steal a man is the highest kind of theft.—[*Grotius.*]

He who supports the system of slavery is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins—the oppressors and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you will preserve your own life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.—[*Abbe Raynal.*]

This torturing system has been pursued so far as to prevent the development of the mental faculties. In Virginia, to have been able to read, cost a black man his life. He demanded that the Africans should share the benefits promised by American liberty; and supported this demand by their own Bill of Rights. Where refutation is impossible, all tyrannies resemble each other. The negro suffered on the gallows.—[*Abbe Gregoire.*]

Slavery is vindicated in print, [1788] and defended in the House of Peers! Poor human reason, when wilt thou come to years of discretion?—[*Hannah More.*]

The three origins of the right of slavery, assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations: First, Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue if taken generally,—that, by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation: therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since, therefore, the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

It is said, secondly, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded?

We are told, thirdly, that men may be born slaves by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.—[*Blackstone.*]

If you have made a happy slave, you have made a degraded man.—[*Edmund Burke.*]

Slavery is a mass, a system of enormities, which incontrovertibly bids defiance to every regulation which ingenuity can devise, or power effect, but a total extinction. Why ought slavery to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice. Why is injustice to remain for a single hour?—[*William Pitt.*]

If the situation of slaves were as happy as servitude could make them, I must not commit the enormous crime of selling man to man. Personal freedom is a right, of which he who deprives a fellow creature is absolutely criminal in so depriving him; and which he who withholds is no less criminal in withholding.—[*Charles James Fox.*]

Man-stealers! The worst of thieves; in comparison of whom, highway-robbers and house-breakers are innocent; and men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers.

May I speak plainly to you? I must. Love constrains me; love to you, as well as to those you are concerned with.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is he a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution; a state wherein the just God will reward every man according to his works. Then what reward will be rendered to you? O, think betimes! Before you drop into Eternity! Think now, "He shall have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy." "The blood of thy brother" and (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of him that made him) "crieth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: *instantly, at any price*, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to

shed blood ; do not pay him for doing it ! Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man ! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear.—[*Rev. John Wesley.*]

Every man who cannot show that his negro hath, by his voluntary conduct, forfeited his liberty, is obligated immediately to manumit him. And to hold [such an one] in a state of slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing—and fifty years from this time (1791) it will be as shameful for a man to hold a negro slave, as to be guilty of common robbery or theft.—[*Younger Edwards, Pastor of a church in New-Haven, and afterwards President of Union College.*]

Never was a system so big with wickedness and cruelty. In whatever part of it you direct your view, the eye finds no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It is the prerogative of slavery to separate from its evil concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs. It robs war of its generosity, it deprives peace of its security. You have the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts ; and the evils of barbarism, without its simplicity. Slavery is the full measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness ; and scorning all competition, or comparison, it stands without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence.—[*Wilberforce.*]

Slavery is a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.—[*Edmund Burke.*]

Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty, and murder can invent ; and men-stealers are the very worst of thieves. The most knavish tricks are practiced by these dealers in human flesh ; and if slaves think of our general character, they must suppose that Christians are devils, and that Christianity was forged in hell.—[*Rowland Hill.*]

It is as really wicked to rob a man of his liberty, as to rob him of his life ; and it is much more wicked than to rob him of his property. To hold a man in a state of slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of man-stealing.—[*Jonathan Edwards.*]

Slavery is injustice, which no consideration of policy can extenuate.—[*Bishop Horsley.*]

The Christian religion is opposed to slavery in its spirit and its principles ; it classes men-stealers among murderers of fathers and of mothers, and the most profane criminals upon earth.—[*Bishop Porteus.*]

No man is by nature the property of another. The rights of nature must be someway forfeited, before they can be justly taken away.—[*Samuel Johnson.*]

The whole system is essentially and radically bad. Injustice and oppression are its fundamental principles. I do not affirm, or imagine that every slaveholder is therefore a wicked man ; but if he be not, it is only upon the score of ignorance. Let us leave the deserts of the individual to Him who knoweth the heart ; of his actions, *we* may speak ; and we ought to speak in the language of reprobation, disgust and abhorrence.—[*Jonathan Dymond.*]

The manner in which the duty of servants is inculcated, affords no ground for the assertion that the gospel authorises one man to hold another in bondage, any more than the command to turn the other cheek, justifies the infliction of violence.—[*President Wayland.*]

The man who, on hearing the claim to property in man, does not see and feel distinctly that it is a cruel usurpation, is hardly to be reached by reasoning ; for it is hard to find any plainer principles than what he begins with denying.—[*Channing.*]

Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys ;
And, worse than all, and most to be deplored,
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast. COWPER.

Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes, and fettered to the soil—
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold ?
No ! Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould ;
She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
Nor trembling take the pittance and the scourge.

CAMPBELL.

Who can with patience for a moment see
This medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks, and democratic whites?
To think that man, thou just and righteous God!
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself—with souls from Thee—
And yet to boast of perfect liberty! THOMAS MOORE.

Of all slave-holders under Heaven, those of the United States appear to me the most reprehensible; for man is never so truly odious as when he inflicts upon others that which he himself abominates.—[*Edward Rushton to General Washington.*]

Slavery is a dominion and system of laws, the most merciless and tyrannical that ever were tolerated upon the face of the earth.—[*Paley.*]

While I am indulging in my views of American prospects, and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist.—[*Lafayette.*]

Robbers invade the property, and murderers the life of human beings, but he that holds another man in bondage, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is therefore more detestable than robber and assassin combined.—[*Thomas Day.*]

Of all men living, an American citizen, who is the owner of slaves, is the most despicable—he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description.—[*O'Connell.*]

There is a law above all the enactments of human codes. It is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loath rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man.—[*Henry Brougham.*]

I hold the system of slavery to be a crime of the deepest dye, and I would deal with it as crimes ought to be dealt with.—[*T. Fowell Buxton.*]

Slavery is the infringement of all laws—a law having a tendency to preserve slavery would be the grossest sacrilege.

I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or color, or creed, should make any distinction in your Republic.—[*Bolivar.*]

I wish that the time may soon come, when all our inhabitants, of every color and denomination, shall be free and equal partakers of our political liberty.—[*John Jay*, 1785.]

It is the double curse of slavery to degrade all concerned with it, doing or suffering. The slave is the lowest in the scale of human beings, except the slave-dealer.—[*Montgomery.*]

By sophistry, evil habits, neglect, and the impostures of an anti-Christian priesthood, joined in one conspiracy with the violence of tyrannical governors, the understandings of men may become so darkened, and their consciences so lethargic, that a necessity arises for the republication of self-evident truths, and this, too, with a voice of loud alarm and impassioned warning. Such were the truths with which Thomas Clarkson and his excellent confederates conquered the legalized banditti of man-stealers—the numerous and powerful perpetrators of rapine, murder, and (worse than either) slavery!—[*Coleridge.*]

We, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice; and the product has been misery in the extreme.—[*Elias Hicks.*]

Even the earth itself, which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave.—[*Montesquieu.*]

If we allow negroes to be men, it will begin to be believed that we ourselves are not Christians.—[*Montesquieu.*]

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery, thou art a bitter draught.—[*Sterne.*]

Not only the Christian religion, but nature herself cries out against a state of slavery.—[*Pope Leo X.*]

[All slaves in the British West Indies] shall become and be, to all intents and purposes, free and discharged from and of all manner of slavery, and slavery is hereby forever

abolished and declared unlawful.—[*Act of British Parliament.*]

The gentleman has appealed to the Christian religion in justification of slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those pure doctrines does he rely ; to which of those sublime precepts does he advert to sustain his position ? Is it that which teaches charity, justice and good-will to all, or is it that which teaches, “ Do ye unto others as ye would they should do unto you.”—[*Thomas J. Randolph of Virginia.*]

In heathen countries, slavery was in some sort excusable ; among Christians it is an enormity and a crime, for which perdition has scarcely an adequate state of punishment.

I here register my testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, anti-Christian, and diabolic slave trade, with all its authors, promoters, abettors, and sacrilegious gains ; as well as against the great devil, the father of it and them.—[*Dr. A. Clark.*]

The holding of human beings in a state of slavery is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.—[*Wesleyan Conference, England.*]

Men-stealers are inserted among these daring criminals, against whom the law of God directed its curses. These kidnapped men to sell them for slaves ; and this practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery ; nor can a slave-dealer keep free from this criminality, if “ the receiver be as bad as the thief.”—[*Scott.*]

The conference acknowledges that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society ; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion ; and doing what we would not that others should do unto us ; and they pass their disapprobation upon all our friends who keep slaves, and they advise their freedom.—[*Discipline of the M. E. Church, 1780.*]

I do a man greater injury when I deprive him of his liberty, than when I deprive him of his property. It is vain for me to plead that I have the sanction of law ; for this makes the injury the greater—it arms the community against him, and makes his case desperate. The owners of such slaves then are licensed robbers, and not the just proprietors of what they claim. Freeing them is not depriving

them of property, but restoring it to the right owner.—[*Rev. David Rice.*]

[The above was uttered by this minister of God, before the Convention which met to form the Constitution of the State of Kentucky, in 1790.]

As a *Virginian*, I do not question the master's title to his slave; but I put it to the gentleman, as a *man*, as a *moral man*, as a *Christian man*, whether he has not some doubt of his claim being as absolute and unqualified as that of other property? I acknowledge I tremble for the fate of my country at some future day, unless we "do something!"—[*J. A. Chandler of Virginia.*]

You may place the slave where you please—you may dry up to your utmost, the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thought—you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night—you may yoke him to your labor, as the ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live—you may put him under any process, which without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being—you may do this, and the idea that he was born to be free, will survive it all. It is allied to his hopes of immortality—it is the eternal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach—it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.—[*James G. McDowell, jr., of Virginia.*]

There is a "still small voice," which speaks to the heart of man in a tone too clear and distinct to be disregarded. It tells him that every system of slavery is based upon injustice and oppression. If gentlemen disregard it now, and lull their consciences to sleep, they may be aroused to a sense of their danger when it is too late to repair their errors.—[*P. A. Bolling, of Virginia.*]

CHAPTER XXVII.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

1. "The Bible recognizes, and of course in some circumstances, justifies slavery."

One sentence is sufficient to dispose of this argument. *Slaveholders refuse the Bible to their slaves.* Strange that they should fear to add *moral chains* to the *physical*!

2. "Abolitionists are too sweeping in their denunciations. Slavery is not always, as they affirm, a *sin*, because slaves are often treated with kindness."

So are horses. Is it right to put a man to the place of a horse, provided that horse is a beloved and favorite one? And would you judge it kind treatment, if you were, under any circumstances, robbed of your liberty, and bought and sold like a beast?

3. "The slaves are unfit for freedom."

Are they all unfit? If not, then you must be an immediate abolitionist in regard to those who are fit. If they are, then how can any of them ever be made fit, for some, nay, many of them, have already enjoyed long enough, all the possible influences which can be supposed to fit men for freedom while in a state of slavery.

4. "Slaves are paid wages, inasmuch as they receive from their masters food and clothing."

"It takes two to make a bargain." You might as well call the grease a man puts on his cart wheels, the wages of the ox and of the cart, as to call the food and clothing of the slave his wages.

5. "Many slaves have religious privileges. Their masters labor for the salvation of their souls."

So long as the slaves are kept in ignorance of the Bible, and of their own rights as *men*, and consequently of their duties to God and man; and so long as their persons and purity are not protected either by public opinion or by the laws, their piety must be of a doubtful character.

6. "Many would not take their freedom if it were offered them."

Fairly and constantly give a man the option of liberty,

and he can no longer be your slave. He may still be the slave of unjust laws, the victim of a wicked public sentiment, but he is not your slave, though he may choose to serve you under that name. Abolitionists do not trouble themselves about *voluntary self-sold* slaves; there are millions who *would* take their freedom if they could get it.

7. "The slaves are better off than the free blacks."

According to our Declaration of Independence, every man has the right to be his own judge about his own "happiness." Now the question with us, is not whether the free blacks *are* happier, but whether they *feel* happier than they would in slavery. If not, it is the plainest thing in the world, that they would become slaves, as they may easily do any day.

8. "The slaves in this country are better off than they would have been had they been left in Africa."

This may be true, and yet no thanks to slaveholders for it. Those who kidnapped men on the coast of Africa did it to make merchandize of them. Those who purchased them, did it not to make Christians of them, but to receive the benefit of their labor. Hence the crucifiers of Christ are entitled to as many thanks for the salvation of souls, as slaveholders are for any benefit which slaves may derive from being enslaved.

9. "The slaves have been '*entailed*' upon slaveholders."

If slaves have been entailed on slaveholders, we know from observation, that they are very willing to receive and retain the the entailment. Why, then, should they complain?

10. "Slaveholders know that slavery is a curse, and are opposed to it, but cannot get rid of it."

If they know it to be a curse, they seem not to believe that their slaves are curses, or, if they do they are very loth to part with curses. When one runs away, instead of calling in their friends to rejoice with them, they make chase with all possible speed after the poor *curses*, and sometimes offer fifty, a hundred, two hundred, or even five hundred dollars reward to any man who will take up and confine the curse until they can get it again,

11. "The slaves would cut their masters' throats if emancipated."

If they do so, it must be to get out of freedom, and according to this objection, there is more danger of the slaves killing their masters to get back into slavery, which may be done without any killing, than to get out of slavery, which often cannot be done without killing! To be serious, an objection so disgraceful to human nature should not be brought forward without some fact to stand on. To the honor of our species, we are bold to say no such fact ever has been or will ever be. See the history of all past emancipations, especially of 800,000 slaves in the British Colonies on the 1st of August, 1834, and 1838.

12. "The slaves if emancipated would not work."

Well, what if they would not? Who has a right to compel them to work? Who made the slaveholder the executioner of God's sentence, that man shall eat bread in the sweat of his face? Not God, surely, for the slaveholder is himself a rebel against that sentence, eating his bread in the sweat of other people's faces.

13. "If the slaves were set free, amalgamation would take place."

Not without the consent of the parties interested. And the citizens of this *free* country should be the last in the world to infringe upon the will of these parties, for the right to choose a partner for life is so exclusive and sacred, that it is never interfered with, except by the worst of tyrants. But where does amalgamation exist? Among the abolitionists of the North, or the slaveholders of the South? Where slavery has been abolished in the British West Indies, amalgamation has been abolished with it. If the objector is not satisfied with this answer, we turn him over to his brother objector, who says, that the blacks ought always to be slaves, because nature has planted such an antipathy between them and the whites that they can never intermingle.

14. "But suppose the entire North converted to your doctrines and society, that does not make the South give up the slave."

One thing is certain; the South will never give the slave up until the North is converted to our doctrines. While the North regards the colored man as it now does, it would be a Herculean, a desperate enterprise for the South to under-

take the emancipation of the slave. The North must make its peace with the "free colored man," before the South can emancipate the slave. It would not save the country, or free the slave, to enact the abolition of slavery by Congress and by every State General Court in the Union, without a moral change in the white population towards the black, and the consequent revolution of feeling in the black towards the white man. Nothing can effect this change but the action and prevalence of anti-slavery societies and principles.

15. "You declaim of the evils of slavery, and tell stories of sufferings—but how are you going to help it? Your object—your means—what signifies all this talk, while you do nothing? You have not emancipated a single slave."

Our object is the abolition of slavery, to wit, of *mastery*. Our means, and only means—all we need, and all we desire is, the converting our negro-hating and negro-scorning countrymen to our principles and our ranks. This we aim to effect in the ordinary way of the age; by association, preaching, the press, and prayer. These are the principles and measures, which professors of religion and doctors of divinity "deprecate."

16. We are all abolitionists at the North, and what would you have more of us?"

Just such abolitionists you are, we reply, as slaveholding desires and requires you to be. Abolitionists who, opposing and overthrowing every doctrine and system you really dislike, let slavery go unmolested; who treat colored people among you as if they were made for slavery; who discourage their moral and intellectual elevation all in your power; who mob their friends among you for advocating their right to freedom; who tear down schools erected for their instruction; go South and hold slaves yourselves—are slaveholders to the extent of your occasion and convenience.

17. "The measures of the abolitionists tend only to perpetuate slavery."

Do they, indeed! Then pray how comes it to pass, that those at the South, who defend slavery as the "corner stone of our republican edifice," and wish it perpetuated, are so much opposed to our measures? How is it, that the defenders of slavery are every where opposed to our measures, and declare that we ought to be put to death for them with-

out benefit of clergy, if our measure tend to put off emancipation and to prolong the existence of slavery! Ha, friend?

18. "The slaveholders cannot emancipate, on account of the laws forbidding it."

In the same way individual robbers cannot cease to plunder on account of the rules and regulations of the land to which they belong. And did Daniel refuse to pray to the living God, when a law was made by the government under which he lived to prevent it? Did the apostles refuse to preach when forbidden by the magistrates?

19. "But emancipation under such laws would be an injury to the slave."

Of that, the slave must be left to judge, because his is the right to judge. It is for him to say whether or not he will take shelter from a gang of wolves in the den of some very generous individual wolf.

20. "The interferences of abolitionists injure the slave, and make his condition worse."

Then it was bad before. But is it worse? It would be very convenient for slaveholders to say so. But when are tyrants most likely to be humane, generous, kind?—When no one questions their goodness or their rights, or, when narrowly watched, and laid under the strongest motives to show themselves as they have affirmed themselves to be?

21. "Abolition endangers the Union!"

The threat of separation is almost out of date. The North is not urged to recede from the Union; the South would not gain any thing by it. A dissolution of the Union would be the death blow to slavery.

22. "Your operations tend to excite insurrections."

This is a mistake. Insurrections are always excited by oppression, never by the hope of relief.

23. "They disturb the harmony of the churches"

Precisely that harmony which ought to be disturbed, viz: harmony of sin. And what is the spiritual condition of the church, or any branch of it which cannot bear the plain and faithful declaration of the whole counsel of God? We must not rebuke sin lest it disturb "the peace of the church!"

I N D E X .

	PAGE.
Abolitionists, - - - - -	122
Advertisements of Americans for sale, - - -	106
Americans, how sold, - - - - -	116
Americans reduced to Slavery by Laws of the United States, - - - - -	96
American Slavery defined, - - - - -	5
American Slave Trade, - - - - -	130
Analogy of the Gospel, - - - - -	50
Anderson, Rev. R. N., - - - - -	58
Arguments for Slavery answered, - - - - -	33
Army of the U. S., Slavery protected by, - - -	95
Auction, a slave, - - - - -	106
Augusta Chronicle, - - - - -	54
 Bangs, Dr., quotation from, - - - - -	 66
Bible Arguments for Slavery answered, - - -	33
British West Indies, - - - - -	85
Brown, E., quotation from, - - - - -	63
 Camden, S. C., testimony from, - - - - -	 52
Cape Colony, - - - - -	85
Capers, Dr., his sentiments, - - - - -	62
Carlisle, quotation from, - - - - -	52
Cat-hauling, - - - - -	75
Charleston, S. C., testimony from, - - - - -	51
Charleston Courier, - - - - -	53, 54, 63
Charleston Observer, - - - - -	26
Charleston Union Presbytery, - - - - -	56
Christ did not condemn Slavery, - - - - -	33
Clapp, Rev. F., - - - - -	65
Civil condition of the enslaved, - - - - -	11

Colored Foreigners, how treated in the United States,	97
Color does not exempt from Slavery,	8
Colombia, Republic of,	85
Columbia, District of,	91
Compensation allowed to Jewish servants,	45
Conditions of salvation,	50
Constitution of the United States,	126
Constitutions of the several States,	131
Contented, are the slaves?	78
Counter Appeal,	65
Covetousness,	48
Dalcho, Dr.,	63
Delegated power of the master,	18
Dew, Prof.,	64
Discussion, reasons for,	105
District of Columbia,	95, 119
Domestic relations protected among the Jews,	42
Domingo, St.,	89
Duer, Dr.,	64
Duties of Masters,	50
Emancipation, immediate,	82
Emancipation, restraints upon,	21
Enslavers,	49
Explanation,	83
Facts, demonstrating the safety of immediate emancipation,	84
Facts demonstrating the danger of continued slavery,	86
Feelings of a Father,	71
Fisk, Dr., quotation from,	66
Flogging Slaves,	74
Forral, S. A., his testimony,	30
Foreign Slave Trade,	115
Fraud,	49
Freedom of Speech and of the Press,	131
Freeman, Rev. G. W., quotation from,	74
Fugitive Servants among the Jews,	44
Fugitive Slaves, unprotected,	97
Furman, Dr., sale of his Slaves,	110
Furman, Dr., quotation from,	64

Gaudaloupe, - - - - -	84
General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, -	38
General Conference of the M. E. Church, - - -	61
Golden Rule, - - - - -	50
Harper, Chancellor, - - - - -	30
Heathens of this Country, the Slaves so considered,	25
Hereditary Slavery, no such thing among the Jews,	40
Hedding, Bishop, quotation from, - - - -	65
Hodge, Prof., quotation from, - - - -	63
Hopewell Presbytery, - - - - -	57
Horrors of St. Domingo, - - - - -	89
Husbands and Wives protected among the Hebrew Servants, - - - - -	44
Immediate Emancipation, - - - - -	82
Increase of Slaves, - - - - -	9
Internal Slave Trade, - - - - -	95
Instruction of Servants, - - - - -	43
Jefferson, quotation from, - - - - -	31
Jewish Servitude, unlike American Slavery, - -	40
Johnson, his testimony, - - - - -	31
Jones, Rev. C. C., his testimony as to the Moral Condition of Slaves, - - - - -	26
Kidnapping, - - - - -	93
Kindness, - - - - -	49
Lancasterville, S. C., - - - - -	52
Licentiousness of Slaves, - - - - -	27
Manstealing, - - - - -	48
Marriage allowed to Jewish Servants, - - -	46
Marriage prohibited to Slaves, - - - - -	19
Masters mentioned in the New Testament, - -	36
Masters, duties of, - - - - -	50
Measures of Abolitionists, - - - - -	122
Mental Instruction prohibited, - - - - -	13
Methodist Church in 1780, - - - - -	60
Missionary Society of the S. C. Conference, -	56

Moral condition of the enslaved, - - - - -	25
Moral character of Slaveholders, - - - - -	31
Mother, a Slave, - - - - -	72
Moore, Mr., his testimony, - - - - -	32
Nation, responsible, - - - - -	95
Number enslaved, - - - - -	9
Objects of A. S. Societies, - - - - -	124
Objections answered, - - - - -	140
Oppression, - - - - -	48
Orphans advertised for sale, - - - - -	106
Paxton, Rev. J. D., quotations from, - - - - -	28
Postell, Rev. J. C., quotation from, - - - - -	54
Power of the Slaveholder, - - - - -	16
Practical Slavery, - - - - -	67
Prices for which Americans are sold, - - - - -	113
Privileges of the Gospel, Slaves destitute of them, - - - - -	25
Prohibition of religious worship, - - - - -	14
Property, right of, prohibited, - - - - -	14, 19
Quarterly Christian Spectator, - - - - -	64
Rankin, Rev. J., his testimony, - - - - -	99
Robbery, - - - - -	49
Runaway Slaves, method of capturing them, - - - - -	76
Ruffin, Judge, quotation from, - - - - -	17
Scripture arguments against Slavery, - - - - -	47
Seabrook, W. B., quotation from, - - - - -	63
Self-defence, prohibited to the Slave, - - - - -	15
Sentiments favorable to the perpetuity of Slavery, - - - - -	51
Separation of families, - - - - -	68, 69
Servants, among the Jews not held as property, - - - - -	33
Servants mentioned in the New Testament, - - - - -	34
Servants under the yoke, - - - - -	36
Simms, Prof., quotation from, - - - - -	64
Slave States admitted into this Union, - - - - -	97
Slavery defined, - - - - -	5
Slavemarket, - - - - -	113

Smylie, Rev. J., quotation from, - - - -	55
Specific directions of the New Testament, - - - -	39
Spirit of the Gospel, - - - -	50
Strangers, laws for the protection of, - - - -	44
Submission required of the Slave, - - - -	15
Summers, his testimony, - - - -	32
Synod, South Carolina and Georgia, - - - -	56
Synod of Virginia, - - - -	57
Telescope, Columbia, S. C. - - - -	53
Testimony of the civilized world, - - - -	135
Thome, J. A., quotation from, - - - -	27
Thornwell, Rev. J. H., quotation from, - - - -	53
Trade in human flesh, facilities for carrying it on, - - - -	115
Traffic in men, how it is carried on, - - - -	110
Traffic in men forbidden, - - - -	49
Tucker, Judge, quotation from, - - - -	31
Union Presbytery, - - - -	56
United States, a Slaveholding Nation, - - - -	41
United States' laws against the Slave trade, - - - -	91
Voluntary servitude, - - - -	41
Washington Telegraph, - - - -	53
Wesley, quotations from, - - - -	138
Western Luminary, - - - -	27
Whedon, Prof., quotation from, - - - -	66
Witnesses, colored persons not allowed to be, - - - -	20
Winans, Rev. J., quotations from, - - - -	61













